This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

The Arthur and Elizabeth
SCHLESINGER LIBRARY
on the History of Women
in America

RADCLIFFE COLLEGE

324.3 U57wft, 19
Woman suffrage:
Schlesinger Libra
3 2044 0

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Serial No. 2

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

MARCH 13, 1912

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1912

324.3
U57wh
1912
no. 2

CONTENTS.

	Page.
Statement of Hon. Edward T. Taylor, a Representative at Large from Colorado.	6, 14
Statement of Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago, Ill	7
Statement of Miss Leonora O'Reilly, of New York City	8
Statement of Hon. John E. Raker, a Representative from California	10
Statement of Mrs. Jean Nelson Penfield, of New York City	11
Statement of Hon. A. W. Lafferty, a Representative from Oregon	64
Statement of Mrs. William Kent, of Kentfield, Cal	66
Statement of Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, of New York City	67
Statement of Hon. Victor L. Berger, a Representative from Wisconsin	73
Statement of Miss Mary E. McDowell, of the University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago, Ill	74
Statement of Miss Caroline A. Lowe, of Kansas City ,Mo	79
Statement of Mr. James L. Laidlaw, of New York City	83
Statement of Mrs. Elsie Cole Phillips, of Milwaukee, Wis	84
Statement of Miss Ella C. Brehaut, of Washington, D. C	85

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

HENRY D. CLAYTON, Alabama, *Chairman.*

ROBERT L. HENRY, Texas.
EDWIN Y. WEBB, North Carolina.
CHARLES C. CARLIN, Virginia.
WILLIAM W. RUCKER, Missouri.
WILLIAM C. HOUSTON, Tennessee.
JOHN C. FLOYD, Arkansas.
ROBERT Y. THOMAS, Jr., Kentucky.
JAMES M. GRAHAM, Illinois.
H. GARLAND DUPRÉ, Louisiana.
MARTIN W. LITTLETON, New York.
WALTER I. MCCOY, New Jersey.
JOHN W. DAVIS, West Virginia.
DANIEL J. MCGILLICUDDY, Maine.
JOHN A. STERLING, Illinois.
REUBEN O. MOON, Pennsylvania.
EDWIN W. HIGGINS, Connecticut.
PAUL HOWLAND, Ohio.
FRANK M. NYE, Minnesota.
GEORGE W. NORRIS, Nebraska.
FRANCIS H. DOBBS, Michigan.

J. J. SPEIGHT, *Clerk.*
C. C. BRANNEN, *Assistant Clerk.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

SERIAL NO. 2.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, March 13, 1912.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Henry D. Clayton (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. At a previous meeting of the Committee on the Judiciary, in response to a request made by several Members of the House and by two ladies, to-day was set apart by the committee for the hearing of those who advocate the amendment of the Constitution providing for woman's suffrage. Since the committee has met this morning I have been requested by a lady, representing other ladies in opposition to the resolutions now under consideration by the committee, that she be accorded 10 or 15 minutes at the conclusion of the hearing to-day to present the views of these ladies to the committee. I have conferred with some members of the committee, and they have thought, following precedents obtaining in like requests in cases of former hearings, that that request ought to be accorded. I deem it proper to advise the ladies who asked for this hearing of that request at this time, and I would think it fair to the ladies who have asked for this hearing that they be given an opportunity, if they see fit, to reply to any statements or arguments that may be made by the ladies in opposition to these resolutions.

I wish to know, for the benefit of the committee, what lady will apportion the time to-day, among the advocates of these resolutions.

Miss ADDAMS. I will do it, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Jane Addams, of Illinois.

The committee has several resolutions before it, House joint resolution 201, introduced by Mr. Raker, of California, House joint resolution 198, introduced by Mr. Lafferty, of Oregon, House joint resolution 91, introduced by Mr. Taylor, of Colorado, House joint resolution 213, introduced by Mr. Berger, of Wisconsin, House joint resolution 87, introduced by Mr. Mondell, of Wyoming, and House joint resolution 17, introduced by Mr. Rucker, of Colorado, all relating to this same subject; that is, the proposition to amend the Federal Constitution to provide for woman's suffrage.

I may say to the ladies who have been accorded this hearing that this committee heretofore, on similar occasions, has not limited the ladies as to the time they wished to use in putting their views before the committee. We have, I think without exception, heretofore given the ladies a whole day on this subject, and the committee has the permission of the House to sit during the sessions of the House. With that statement, I will say to the ladies the committee will hear you this morning until 12 o'clock, and then the committee will take a recess for lunch and for a brief attendance upon the House, and then they will come back after lunch, at such time as may be agreed upon by the members and by the ladies advocating these resolutions.

At this time I may say, Miss Addams, you may proceed in such manner as you ladies have agreed upon. I suppose if you have made any allotment of time, that you will advise the chairman whenever any speaker has consumed her allotted time.

Miss ADDAMS. We have nine speakers, Mr. Chairman, and have given each of them 10 minutes. Perhaps, by shortening them a little, we can conclude by 12 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. I should be very sorry to have the ladies feel compelled to shorten their speeches.

Miss ADDAMS. We would like to show you, Mr. Chairman, that we can make short speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe we are to have a short statement by Mr. Taylor, of Colorado.

REMARKS OF HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, REPRESENTATIVE AT LARGE FROM COLORADO, INTRODUCING MISS JANE ADDAMS.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Chairman and members of the Judiciary Committee. My colleague, Judge Rucker, was to be accorded the honor of presenting to the committee the distinguished lady who will preside and introduce the speakers. But owing to his illness this morning that courtesy, which I very highly appreciate, has been extended to me. But before doing so, permit me to say on behalf of the authors of the various bills providing for constitutional amendments now pending before your committee, as just mentioned by your chairman, that while we do not desire to take up any of the time of the committee to be heard at present, because this is a women's meeting; nevertheless, if your committee desires to hear from us at any time in support of our respective bills, or if you will permit us to make a statement to go into the hearings, we will be pleased to avail ourselves of that opportunity. Personally I should like to make

and have it appear in the record a brief statement of the results of woman suffrage in the State of Colorado during the past 18 years. Our good women have made a splendid and most brilliant record, of which the Centennial State is supremely proud. I especially would like to insert in the record a brief mention of 150 of the wisest, most humane, and progressive laws in this country for the protection of the home and the betterment of society which the women of Colorado have caused to be placed upon the statute books of our State during the last 10 sessions of our legislature. However, I will not until after the ladies have spoken ask to take the attention of the committee, nor detain this splendid audience and all of these eminent women speakers longer; but will simply say that I am exceedingly proud to be accorded the distinction and pleasure of presenting to this committee and this audience the first vice president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, a lady whom you and all this country know and honors, Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago. [Applause.]

REMARKS OF MISS JANE ADDAMS, OF CHICAGO, ILL.

Miss ADDAMS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in presenting our arguments for your consideration in regard to these amendments to the Constitution, we would like first to draw your attention to the fact that women have suffrage already, to a very large extent, in the United States. More than a million women will be eligible to vote for President of the United States next November. More than half a million in addition have the municipal franchise. In fact, the remaining women of America are almost the only English-speaking women in the world who are deprived of the municipal franchise. In England women vote upon all civic matters, and all of the women in the English colonies also vote upon municipal affairs. The women in the north, particularly Finland, Sweden, and Norway, have the full franchise; and America, so far from being in the lead in the universal application of the principle that every adult is entitled to the ballot, is fast falling behind the rest of the world. A hundred years ago we occupied an advanced position in regard to the extension of the franchise; at the present moment we are quite behind in this belief that every adult is entitled to representation in his own governmental affairs.

As I have been engaged for a good many years in various philanthropic undertakings, perhaps you will permit me, for only a few moments, to speak from my experience. A good many women with whom I have been associated have initiated and carried forward philanthropic enterprises, which were later taken over by the city, and thereupon the women have been shut out from the opportunity to do the self-same work which they have done up to that time. In Chicago the women for many years supported school nurses who took care of the children, both made them comfortable and kept them from truancy. When the nurses were taken over by the health department of the city the same women who had given them their support and management were shut out from doing anything more in that direction. And I think Chicago will bear me out when I say that the nurses are not now doing as good work as they did before.

I could also use the illustration of the probation officers in Chicago who are attached to the juvenile court. For a number of years

women selected and supported these probation officers. Later, when the same officers, paid the same salary, were taken over by the county and paid from the county funds, the women who had had to do with the initiation and beginning of the probation system, and with the primary and early management of the officers, had no more to do with them. At the present moment the juvenile court in Chicago has fallen behind its former position in the juvenile courts of the world. I think the fair-minded men of Chicago will admit that it was a disaster for the juvenile court when the women were disqualified, by their lack of the franchise, to care for it.

The juvenile court has to do largely with delinquent and dependent children, and I think there is no doubt that on the whole women can deal with such cases better than men, because their natural interests lie in that direction. I could give you many other examples.

The establishment of a sanitarium for the care of tubercular patients in Chicago was begun by some philanthropic women, and later on, when these also were put under the care of the city, these women were shut out, save as they were permitted to do some work through the courtesy of the officials. Sometimes the officials are very courteous to them and glad to have their assistance; sometimes they quite resent the suggestions offered them, claiming it is "up to" them to take care of the city affairs, and that women are only interfering when they try to help.

So, it seems fair to say, if women are to keep on with the work which they have done since the beginning of the world—to continue with their humanitarian efforts which are so rapidly being taken over into the Government, whether wisely or not is not for me to say, and which, when thus taken over by the Government, are often not properly administered, that the women themselves will have to have the franchise.

The franchise is only a little bit of mechanism which enables the voter to say how much money shall be appropriated from the taxes, of which women pay so large a part. When a woman votes, she votes in an Australian ballot box, very carefully guarded from roughness, and it seems to us only fair to the State activities which are so largely humanitarian that women should have this opportunity.

I am going to introduce, Mr. Chairman, women who will represent different points of view in regard to suffrage for women, a matter which seems to us so important.

Perhaps no class of women in the entire community need the ballot so much as the working women. I am sure you are conversant with the splendid series of reports being issued by the Federal Department of Commerce and Labor upon the condition of women and children wage earners in the United States, in which this is being demonstrated. You will be glad to hear, I am sure, from Miss Leonora O'Reilly, of New York, who has done so much to improve the condition of working women. It gives me very much pleasure to introduce Miss O'Reilly, who will speak to you for 10 minutes.

REMARKS OF MISS LEONORA O'REILLY, NEW YORK CITY.

Miss O'Reilly. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee. I ask this committee in all seriousness to understand that we working women are not asking for the vote for fun; we need the

vote for self-protection. Gentlemen, you may tell us that our place is in the home. Do not make fun of us, please. There are 8,000,000 of us in these United States who must earn our daily bread. Now, in all seriousness, because we must earn that bread, we come to tell you that while we are working in the mills, the mines, the factories, and the mercantile houses, we have not the protection that we should have. Gentlemen, you have been making laws for us; now, we want to make laws for ourselves, because the laws you have made have not been good for us. Year after year working women have gone to the legislature in every State; they have tried to tell their story of need in the same old way. They have gone to you, believing as they do believe, in the strength of the big brother; believing that the big brother could do for them what they should, as citizens, do for themselves.

They have seen, time after time, the power of the big interest come behind the big brother and say to him: "If you grant the request of these working women you die, politically." It is because the working women have seen this that they now demand the ballot. In New York, and in every other State, we plead for shorter hours. When the legislators learn that women to-day in every industry are being overspeeded and overworked most legislators would, if they dared, vote protective legislation for the women. Why do they neglect the women? We answer, because those who have the votes have the power to take the legislator's political ladder away from them, a power that we, who have no votes, do not have. The getting of the vote and the use of the vote for self-protection as a class is another thing we working women are going to do; we are going to do it as well as we have done our work in the factory, mill, office, and shop. The world to-day knows that the women in industry are making good. But we working women maintain that the rest of the world are not keeping faith with us, in that they are driving us like mad, burning us alive, or working us to death for profits. We, of New York, remember the Triangle fire cases; we saw our women burned alive, and then when our people appealed to the courts and tried to get justice we got instead the same old verdict from the courts, "Nobody to blame." The ballot is a matter of necessity with working women. We come to you to-day to say we want you to put behind you all your prejudice against votes for women; we ask you for fair play. Deal with us as you would want to be dealt by. When the workingmen come to you with the power of the ballot they make you listen. We want the power of the ballot for the same reason. If there is a man who will not be just, we mean to put him out of politics. If there is a man in office who is serving humanity fairly, we will keep him in office to help make our land what it ought to be.

Gentlemen, that is my message to you from working women in general, and from all organized working women and workingmen in particular. Working women want the power to protect themselves. Working women want the opportunity to work effectively for decent factory laws, sane labor laws. Working women know that we will never have a universal child-labor law until we have the heart of all the women of the land behind the framing and the enforcing of such a law.

While the doors of the colleges have been opened to the fortunate women of our country, only one women in a thousand goes into our

colleges, while one woman in five must go into industry to earn her living. And it is for the protection of this one woman in every five that I speak.

You may say the vote was never given as a right, but rather as an expedient to any group of people. Then we demand it as an expedient. It is time that these women who work in the factories, or wherever they work, contracting the diseases known as occupational diseases, were given an opportunity to clean our political house of its disease germs.

It is in a wretchedly unhealthy condition to-day. Men, let the women come in and help you in this political house cleaning. You have got it into an awful mess; we only ask you to do the thing you have done since Adam, namely, turn the burden of responsibility over to woman when it gets too big for you or you fear the consequences. Let us help you now, or if you will not it will look as if you are afraid of the kind of house cleaning we will give you. Well, we will give it to you, as sure as fate, because we are on this job to win. [Applause.] We see that there is not a thing in the way of this right which we are asking but prejudice or fear; we are pleading for the right to use our intelligence, as you use yours at the ballot box. You believe you protect us. You say you want to take care of the women. I can tell you as a working woman we know you have made a very bad job of the protection and caretaking. [Laughter and applause.] A working woman has to deal with the facts of life; she knows when she is overtired, when her finger is taken off by a machine just because she was too tired to take it out. That is what one of my girls calls a "fac'." Now, men, we working women deal in "fac's." We want the ballot in order that we may straighten out all of this economic and political mess that your superior intelligence has gotten us into. Is that straight? Well, that is what the working woman wants. [Applause.]

Miss ADDAMS. The next speaker on the program—we are going to confine the men to five minutes—is Representative Raker, of California.

REMARKS OF HON. JOHN E. RAKER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

Mr. RAKER. I will be under the five-minute rule, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Addams will keep the time on you.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I want to make a little statement in advance so that the committee may understand my position. This subject has been in my family for over 25 years. It was first taken up by my father-in-law, Judge E. V. Spencer, in the State legislature of California, and he succeeded in putting through that legislature the first constitutional amendment on this subject. It was taken before the people and defeated by a few votes.

Following that some three or more years (after the death of Mr. Spencer) my mother-in-law gave her time and attention before the legislature upon that subject; last year she gave some three months of her time in the State of California, in the county seats of 21 counties, working for the cause of equal suffrage in behalf of this cause. I speak of this to show that it is not a new thought with

me, as I have been in close touch and believed in the justice of this cause for many years.

When I first became a candidate for Congress, this organization wrote me and wanted to know where I stood. I said I was in favor of women voting, and that if I had the opportunity I would place before the House a resolution and would give it my support in the committee and vote for it in the House if the opportunity presented. I have made good so far by introducing resolution 201.

Mr. Chairman, this matter, as it appears to me, has passed beyond the question of sentiment; it has passed beyond the question of advisability, it has passed beyond the question of whether or not women ought to participate in the vote for the benefit of the home, for the benefit of better laws; and, as I view it, is a clean cut question of absolute right; and upon that statement I base my argument, that it is not the question of suffrage, not the question of who is a suffragist and who is not, but it is that we to-day are depriving one-half of the intelligence, one-half of the ability of this Republic from participating in public affairs, they are just as much interested, and have the same rights under the law to exist and to live and to work for what is right as we have, and I believe, from the economic standpoint, from the standpoint of better laws, better existence, better homes, better government in the county, in the city, in the State, and in the Nation, that we need our wives', our sisters', and our mothers' votes and assistance in elections; that you, after making promises, and after saying you will carry out certain laws on behalf of the country, and proper administration of men, that you will not simply look upon the women as though they were not human beings, and class them with the Chinese, Japanese, and others, but realize and appreciate that they are human beings, with the power and with the right and with the responsibility resting upon their shoulders the same as ours, and I am very sincere and earnest on that question.

There can be no doubt but what there is a special work for women in every walk of life. They are entitled to the ballot because of the greater influence it will give them in the affairs of life, dear to the hearts of all femininity.

Miss ADDAMS. The next speaker, Mr. Chairman, is also from New York, Mrs. Penfield, who will address you upon her experience in finding much of the city work taken out of their hands when it is taken over by the city. The door of the House of State, so to speak, is shut in their faces, when their precious little enterprise is toddling across the threshold.

REMARKS OF MRS. JEAN NELSON PENFIELD, OF NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mrs. PENFIELD. Gentlemen, I believe, if I know the make-up of this committee, none of you come from an equal-suffrage State. This is unfortunate for us, because the majority of men who come from equal-suffrage States are our friends, because they know that woman suffrage is not only just, but that it is practical and expedient. I believe, however, that there is, perhaps, not a man on this committee who is not familiar with the civic work which women are doing, and it is upon this particular question I have been asked to speak. The women of the present face an altogether different world from that which our mothers and grandmothers looked upon; a world in

which social and economic problems, which they never knew, but which vitally effect us, demand solution. As we have been forced to realize how our old interests, such as home and children, have in our complex civilization become community interests, we have begun our adjustment through practical work for social service and community betterment.

Now, because women have been able to accomplish many things for civic betterment without the ballot, a great many people think that we do not need the ballot. I ask you to remember at the beginning, however, that the important fact is not that women finally accomplish things, but that when they do succeed in their civic work without the franchise—and, by the way, the failures are not recorded—they accomplish what they do at the greatest and most needless expenditure of time and vital strength, and at the cost to the individual, and therefore, of course, in the end, to the social world, of self-respect and dignity.

Now, these things are important, because the dominant thought in the world to-day is conservation. The great tendency in all the business world is toward economy. The question that every business man is asking himself is how he can lessen the cost of production, how he can arrange his methods and adjust his machinery in order to secure the least possible friction. This is a question which not only business men are asking themselves, but you, also, as legislators, are asking in the affairs of state. An intelligent man in this scientific day would refuse to do a thing by indirect and wasteful processes that could be accomplished in a direct, swift, and economic way. Even the bricklayer is to-day taught how he can handle his bricks with the least possible expenditure of energy in order to secure the best results. Women seem to represent the only great body of energy and talent that is unconserved, unutilized, and recklessly wasted along the byways of life. When men have a public wrong they want rectified they go armed with their votes to the ballot box, just as they also use the influence of the franchise with legislators after they are in office, but when women would seek redress or remedy for public wrong they must accomplish their desire by the long, hard, and indirect process, a questionable process at best, and one wasteful of vital energy and time. That this method may be effective in the end; that through it women have accomplished many good results; even that with the ballot we would not accomplish all we might try for—these things are not important compared with the fact that in the twentieth century, in a progressive, democratic Government, when the very air teems with the words "efficiency" and "conservation," and even the poorest mechanic knows the economic necessity of using the best, most up-to-date tools, that nearly one-half the citizens of the country should by statutes be condemned to do what patriotic service they may wish to do with the implements of a day that is dead and gone. This is the disgrace. It took the Woman's Health Protective League of New York eight long years to convince the board of health that an antispitting ordinance was necessary. Everybody in New York now demands pure milk, but I assure you it has taken a long time to secure the present splendid system of inspection, after a few women discovered and made public a number of years ago the facts about the filthy city stables, with their diseased cows. The ordinance for the protec-

tion of meats and vegetables in New York represents a labor of years by this same body of women, and so I might go on indefinitely.

Miss Addams has spoken of the splendid civic work of women in Chicago. She did not mention a number of things that might have been added, because the Chicago Woman's Club has inaugurated a great many things that have since been taken over by the city and State, notably the cottage system of the Illinois Industrial School and the kindergarten work and open-air school, while the juvenile court is the direct result of an investigation of Cook County jail by the Chicago Woman's Club, and the Legal Aid Society is the outgrowth of the Woman's Protective Association, started by the same club. It was the Iowa Congress of Mothers that finally secured the Iowa juvenile court, while in Pennsylvania this court is largely due to the Federated Women's Clubs. When women went into our public schools and reported epidemics of disease which were preventable by the observance of ordinary sanitary conditions action finally came. When in New York they found children sitting on their folded, rain-soaked garments for the lack of hooks to hang them on, a new building, equipped with cloakrooms, was finally provided, but not without undue petitioning and great delay. The Boston women took a chemical analysis of air in classrooms, and finally the city appropriated $300,000 to provide proper ventilation. The now well-established institutions of manual-training and domestic-science schools, playgrounds, and school gardens were all once "women's notions." As Miss Addams has said, these things have been done, but they have been done unscientifically, because not economically, from the social standpoint. In almost 9 cases out of 10, gentlemen, women have been made to finance these institutions and investigations personally. They have had to finance the institutions and demonstrate the success in each case before the city would acknowledge a public need and adopt them. This is not scientific, of course, nor what we would expect in the twentieth century. Besides this, let me call your attention to another notable feature in connection with women's successful civil work—one overlooked by many, but not to be overlooked much longer by wise statesmen. After women have made a success of these institutions, have managed them and directed them, when they are taken over by the city or State, men alone control them. The entire management is taken from the women who, because of their interest and leisure, have established them. We have not complained very much about this, because we have been glad to see the work go on, but I ask you, as reasonable men, if it is to be supposed that women are going to relinquish their interests in these great institutions because they are taken over by the city? I ask you to realize that more and more thinking men all over the country are beginning to be more conscious of the way we are excluded from civic interests in which we have as great a stake as have men.

Take, again, the instance of the school. Women, because of their children, have been deeply interested in the public schools, and for the sake of their children and the children of the community decided that they must go on school boards. They finally secured place on the school board in Chicago in 1888, and in 1895 they got on the board in Philadelphia.

Now, gentlemen, since that time a great many women have gone on school boards and have done effective work. I call your attention, however, to the fact that you will find few instances where women are in the majority on school boards. You might just as well expect to find a Republican majority in the committees of the House of Representatives in the Sixty-second Congress. I believe I am right when I say also that there are few women, if any, on school boards where the position is a salaried one.

I ask you to realize that such treatment is but the result of our disfranchisement, as is our repeated failure to secure needed protective legislation for women and children in industry and our helplessness in the face of judicial annulments of hard-won legislative victories.

In view of all these things we feel it is time for you to report a measure which, at least in years to come, may be ratified by the States. We ask you to do this.

ADDRESS OF HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, REPRESENTATIVE AT LARGE OF THE STATE OF COLORADO, ON EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, I am going to avail myself of this opportunity to do an act of simple justice to the women of my State, and at the same time extend a favor to the millions of good women of this country and render a service to this Nation.

I want to recite in a plain conversational way some of my personal experiences and individual observations extending over a period of 30 years of public life in Colorado, during nearly 19 years of which time we have had equal suffrage in our State. I may say at the outset that I am not going to enter into a joint debate, for three reasons: First, because I haven't the time; secondly, because every man who lives in an equal-suffrage State will agree with substantially everything I say—there is only one side to it, and nothing to argue with any man who personally knows the practical operations of woman suffrage—and, thirdly, because men who have never lived in a woman-suffrage State and have no personal experience or actual knowledge on the subject necessarily form their opinions largely upon prejudice and the rest upon hearsay, and there is little use of arguing the question or disputing with a man who does not individually know what he is talking about.

I am always glad, indeed, to tell people who want to learn, or discuss the subject with anyone who is willing to form an opinion from existing facts. But it is an utter waste of time and energy to argue with people who resolutely shut their eyes to present-day conditions and whose opinions are based wholly upon the ideas of former generations.

The mountain regions of the earth have ever been the birthplace of liberty and the home of freedom. I have from my boyhood days lived in the Centennial State, where we recognize our mothers and wives and our sisters and daughters as American citizens and treat them as our equals, where the men of our mountain homes have added justice to chivalry, and have long since learned, and have the candor and manhood to acknowledge, that our women's influence in

the civic housekeeping of our cities, our counties, and the State itself is as beneficial and necessary as it is in every well-regulated home.

When I came to Congress I never realized, and I have not yet been able to fully understand the deep-seated prejudice, bias, and even vindictiveness against, and the astounding amount of misinformation there is everywhere back here in the East, concerning the practical operation of equal suffrage. I have been equally amazed and indignant at the many brazen assertions that I have seen in the papers and heard, that are perfectly absurd and without the slightest foundation in fact; and I have had many heated discussions on the subject during the past three years. But when I hear men and women who have never spent a week, and most of them not an hour, in an equal suffrage State, attempt to discuss the subject from the standpoint of their own preconceived prejudices and idle impressions, I feel like saying, "May the Lord forgive them, for they know not what they say." Let me say to them and to my colleagues in the House that it will not be 10 years before the women of this country, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, will be given the just and equal rights of American citizenship.

It is an old and true saying that an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory, and it is equally true that the simple statement of one actual result of woman suffrage is worth more than all the dilettante, theoretical, antisuffrage speeches since the dawn of history.

Since coming to Congress I have been frequently asked by friends what we think of woman suffrage in Colorado and if the women actually vote and if we are satisfied with it and how it works. And when I tell them that it is an unqualified success and that I doubt if even 5 per cent of the people of the State would to-day vote to repeal it they ask me what it has accomplished, what the specific benefits are and what difference it makes, and many other questions concerning the practical operation and results of equal suffrage in our State.

I will first take up one of the most beneficial results that could ever come to any State and at the same time one that is so conclusive that it is indisputable. I believe that it is generally conceded by enlightened people that the laws of a State are a true index of its degree of civilization. I will, therefore, commence by giving a brief catalogue of some of the legislative measures that have been either introduced by the women or at the request of the various women's organizations and enacted into law as a direct result of the work of Colorado's most representative women citizens during the past 18 years since their enfranchisement.

The first general election after the adoption of equal suffrage in November, 1893, was in the fall of 1894, and the legislature elected at that time convened in January, 1895. I will take up seriatim each session of our legislature since, and very briefly mention only what appears to me the more important of the 150 laws enacted primarily through the influence of women in Colorado from 1895 to 1912, inclusive:

SESSION LAWS OF 1895.

The first women's bill introduced, senate bill 1, was an act establishing a State home for dependent and neglected children.

Nearly the first bill in the house was Mrs. Holly's bill raising the age of consent to 18 years, the best law in the United States to-day for the protection of girls.

The next was an act making married women the joint guardians of their own children, with equal powers and duties.

Then followed acts—

Providing for placing of children out in good homes.

Protection of the property of infants and insane persons.

Prohibiting importation or sale of adulterated liquors.

Important amendments to school law for the deaf and blind.

Important amendments regulating practice of pharmacy and sale of harmful drugs and medicines.

Requiring record to be kept of all county poor.

Regulating examinations and grades of certificates of school-teachers.

Regulating the handling of the funds belonging to the State university.

Regulating the issuance of liquor licenses.

Providing for the "Keely cure" at county expense for habitual drunkards.

Preventing the display of anarchistic flags.

Providing penalty for officers violating their oath of office or neglecting their official duties.

There were three women members elected to this house. They were the first, and they, as well as all their successors, have served with credit to themselves and to the women of the State.

SESSION LAWS OF 1897.

An act, establishment of a State industrial school for girls.

Important amendments to school laws.

Liberal appropriations for Industrial School for Boys.

Regulating the practice of dentistry.

Prohibiting the sale of cocaine.

Abolishing capital punishment. (Capital punishment was four years afterwards restored, but only allowed in a very few extreme cases.)

There were three women members of the house during that eleventh session of the general assembly. There has never yet been a woman elected to the State senate.

SESSION LAWS OF 1899.

A splendid indeterminate sentence and parole law.

Compulsory-education law, for all children between 8 and 14 years.

Kindergartens are provided for in the schools.

Creation of county high schools.

Creation of library commission.

Board of lunacy commissioners established, to supervise asylums and inmates.

Making the white and lavender columbine the official State flower.

An exemption law, exempting sewing machines, bicycles, and other articles of poor people from attachments or execution.

A good mechanic's lien law, protecting rights of laborers.

There were three women in the house during that session.

SESSION LAWS OF 1901.

A law for the care of the feeble-minded.

Colorado Humane Society constituted a State bureau of child and animal protection, to prevent wrongs to children and animals. (This law has been followed in many States.)

School-teachers are required once a week to give a lesson in the humane treatment of animals.

Prohibiting desecration of the flag, in the way of advertisements or otherwise.

Mrs. Heartz was the only woman member in the house that session.

SESSION LAWS OF 1903.

An act making father and mother the joint and equal heirs of their children. The best and nearly the first law of that kind in the United States.

An act protecting the household goods and the homestead, and requiring the signature of both husband and wife to either mortgage or sale.

Providing severe penalty for parents or anyone else for causing or contributing to the delinquency of children.

Making Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday—one of the first States to do so.

Making wages a preferred claim in case of suspension of business or receivership.

Regulating the sale of convict-made goods.

Exempting from garnishment or attachment 60 per cent of the wages due at any time to the head of a family.

Prohibiting the employment of any child 16 years of age or less in any unhealthy or dangerous occupation.

Prohibiting furnishing to a child under 16 any tobacco or cigarets.

Act prescribing and regulating hours of employment of women and children and preventing any girl or woman over 15 years of age from working more than eight hours a day in any position requiring her to stand or be on her feet. Every employer of females is compelled by law to provide suitable seats, and permit employees to use them whenever they are not necessarily engaged in active duties.

Family maintenance act, compelling a man to support his wife and children; also compelling children, if able to do so, to support their destitute and infirm parents.

Authorizing the joining of school districts and the creation of union high schools.

An elaborate codification of the law of wills and estates, making an up-to-date, complete, and exemplary probate law. A married woman can make a will and handle her property the same as her husband. Her property rights are fully protected.

Providing for free traveling libraries—160 of them.

Mrs. Ruble was the only member of the house that session.

SESSION LAWS OF 1905.

An act amending laws and providing punishment for persons responsible for dependent neglected children.

Prohibiting the fighting of dumb animals or the injury of them in any kind of sports.

Preventing sale or use of dangerous explosives and regulating use of fireworks.

An eight-hour law for miners in underground mines and smelters.

Creation of State Board of Nurse Examiners for registering and regulating the practice of nursing.

Law against blacklisting and boycotting.

Providing for the State Historical and Natural History Society to secure collections, especially of the cliff dwellers.

There was no woman elected to that fifteenth session of our general assembly.

SESSION LAWS OF 1907.

A splendid pure food and drug law. A former member of the legislature, and a noble woman, Mrs. Martha A. B. Canine, now deceased, is primarily entitled to the credit for the enactment of that law.

Requiring State Board of Charities and Corrections to care for indigent aliens.

Creation of State commission on prison labor.

Severe law against all kinds of cheats, swindlers, deceptions, frauds, and bunkoing of the public.

Providing for the registration of births and deaths and vital statistics.

Prohibiting the insurance of children under 15 years of age, under penalty of fine, imprisonment, and forfeiture of license to do business.

There is no other place in the world that has that law.

A splendid civil-service law. (Very complete.)

An exceptionally good divorce law, containing many provisions for the protection of women and children in their personal and property rights, and authorizing poor women to prosecute without cost; and compelling the husband to provide for care of children and pay alimony and counsel fees for wife during pendency of suit.

Establishment of free employment offices in cities.

Common carriers' liability act.

Coal-mine inspection law.

Providing for suitable burial places in every city and town for all veterans of the Civil and Spanish Wars.

Establishment of a State banner.

Providing for care and protection of abandoned animals.

Prohibiting the wearing of unauthorized emblems, badges, or medals.

Establishment of juvenile courts. (A very elaborate law that has been copied in many other States and commended by the President of the United States, and followed in foreign countries.)

A revision and reenactment of a complete law upon the subject of rape and indecent relations.

Providing for care and education of dependent and neglected children.

Establishing detention houses and parental or truant schools for juvenile delinquents and providing for their care and education.

Preventing hazing.

Making August 1 Colorado Day, in commemoration of the admission of the State into the Union.

A local-option law providing for the creation of "antisaloon territory," under which some 50 cities and towns and 12 counties and the principal residence portions of large cities have abolished saloons.

Act providing for employment of prisoners eight hours a day and payment to wives or minor children of from 50 cents to $1 a day, if wife or children would otherwise become a public charge.

Providing for the construction of public highways by convict labor, with eight hours a day work and "good time" allowance.

Act defining who is the head of the family.

A modern inheritance-tax law.

Important amendments of county high-school law.

Amendments of State board nurse examiners law, providing for registration and qualifications of the occupation of nursing.

Amendments to State industrial school for girls.

Prohibiting quack doctors from advertising.

Requiring signature of wife to make valid assignment of wages, either due or future unearned wages.

Regulating wage brokers and loan sharks and prohibiting loans to minors.

Important amendment to laws of wills and estates, providing for economical administration of small estate and fixing widows' and orphans' allowances.

Establishment of industrial workshops for the blind.

There were no women members of that sixteenth general assembly, but the legislative committees of the women's clubs throughout the State were there early and often, and with the votes of the women of the State behind them they largely got what they asked for.

SESSION LAWS OF 1909.

An act creating a bureau of labor statistics.

Establishing a State home and training school for mental defectives.

Establishing a State board of immigration.

Creating the Colorado State Museum and appropriating $100,000 therefor.

Further protecting delinquent children and punishment for persons responsible, and defining duties of courts. (Mrs. Lafferty.)

A school teachers' pension bill.

Authorizing State board of examiners to act in conjunction with State board of education to examine applicants for State diplomas.

Creation of department of factory inspection, requiring three inspectors, one of whom must be a woman, with full authority to compel installation of safety appliances, and for proper ventilation and fire escapes, and sanitary appliances generally.

Validating the wills of married women.

Licensing and regulating hospitals and dispensaries of all kinds.

Preventing oppression of persons held in custody and making it felony to resort to "third-degree" or "sweat-box" methods.

Providing "good-time" allowance for trusty prisoners.

Making it a felony to live on the earnings of a lewd woman.

Providing for physical examination at public expense of all school children as to eyes, ears, teeth, nose, throat, breathing capacity, and general health condition. (Mrs. Alma V. Lafferty, the only woman member of this legislature, and a woman physician, Dr. Mary E. Bates, are principally entitled to the credit of this splendid law.)

Appropriation of $5,000 for purchase and free distribution of antitoxin.

Authorizing consolidation of school districts for better schools, requiring school boards to furnish free transportation to pupils.

Additional stringent regulation of wage brokers and loans to laborers.

Giving a paroled convict money and clothing the same as a discharged man.

Making additional provisions for road building by convicts.

Donating some State lands for certain charitable and philanthropic institutions.

Defining taxpayer and preventing frauds in franchise elections.

SESSION LAWS OF 1910 (EXTRA SESSION).

Adoption of constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum.

Adoption of the direct primary election law. The passage of these two bills was the consummation of a persistant fight that has been carried on in the State for this reform for 20 years.

The constitutional amendment was adopted by overwhelming vote at general election in fall of 1910, and is now in active operation.

SESSION LAWS OF 1911.

A codification of and complete law for the adoption of children.

Authorizing the placing of poor orphan children in charitable educational institutions and binding them out under proper supervision.

Child-labor law. The most wise and complete law in this country, fully regulating employment of and protection of children and prescribing hours and character of work they may do. Mrs. Louise U. Jones, a member of the house, introduced this bill, and she and Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright, a former member, are entitled to great credit for securing its passage.

Creating truancy and probation officers and defining duties.

Act providing that all laws concerning delinquency shall, for the protection of girls, be held to include all girls under 18 years.

Anticoercion act, making it a misdemeanor for any employer to try to compel employees to resign or refrain from joining any organization or society.

Creating the department of factory inspection, greatly extending powers and benefits for protection of all workmen, male and female.

Amendment to "head-of-family" law, designating the wife as head of family if she "provided chief support for family."

Authorizing the wife, without knowledge or consent of husband, to go and make entry on record homesteading the property where they live, so it can not be sold or encumbered without her consent.

Additional employers' liability law.

Miners' eight-hour law providing hours of labor and defining various kinds of occupations as injurious to health.

Providing that in labor disputes it shall be unlawful to issue false advertising to engage workmen under false statements to come in to take place of workmen on strikes.

Providing for supervision of lying-in hospitals and maternity homes and to prevent improper disposition of children.

Providing for teaching the adult blind.

Further regulations compelling a man to support his wife and children; making nonsupport an extraditable offense.

Drastic antiwhite-slave law, one to five years in penitentiary.

Providing for "good-time" allowance for prisoners in county jails.

Creating the office of State forester.

Authorizing all cities to acquire and maintain public parks outside of city limits. (Mrs. Lafferty.)

A law exempting growing timber from taxes, unless of commercial value.

Act establishing teachers' summer normal schools throughout the State.

Further regulating manner of holding school elections and preventing frauds. (Mrs. Kerwin.)

We think our schools are the best in the world, considering our State's resources and income; our appropriations to the schools are lavish, compared with older and richer States.

Act raising the qualifications of school-teachers.

The first State law in the United States admitting to the State soldiers and sailors' homes Confederate soldiers and sailors who are residents of Colorado.

Act creating and designing a State flag.

In this session, which was our last, and is the present eighteenth general assembly, there are four women—Mrs. Alma V. Lafferty, Mrs. Louise U. Jones, Mrs. Louise M. Kerwin, and Mrs. Agnes L. Riddle; the first is the chairman of the committee on education.

In addition to the above laws, there are many others not specifically mentioned, and there are a great many beneficial provisions in those laws that I can not take the time or space to give in detail. In reality, it would require fully one-third of the last 10 volumes of our Colorado session laws to fully describe the laws that have been enacted as a direct result of the influence and energy of the women of the State generally and the splendid and indefatigable efforts of the various women's organizations, especially the legislative committee of the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs and the same committee of the Women's Club of Denver. Anyone can check up or verify my reference to these laws by examining the Colorado statutes or session laws in any large library.

I might mention many other general provisions like the establishment of a county visiting board in each county, composed of three men and three women, to examine all county institutions and supervise their sanitary and other conditions; requiring a woman

physician in the insane asylum; requiring inspection of private eleemosynary institutions by a State board.

The women's influence makes it much easier to secure liberal appropriations for educational and humanitarian purposes.

Most of the visiting boards of the various institutions where people are involuntarily confined are composed partially of women, and they make those boards very efficient and prevent them from becoming political boards.

Women have been largely instrumental in bringing about the adoption of the commission form of government in Colorado Springs, Grand Junction, and other cities, and in requiring hundreds of splendid ordinances to be adopted by the various cities and towns and especially in compelling the enforcement of humane laws, sanitation, and general decency.

Women always take an active interest in the enactment and strict enforcement of good public health laws, and laws for the moral welfare of society. Whenever they have a chance to express their sentiments there is never any doubt as to the result. Every politician knows in advance what it will be, and that is the reason some of them loudly proclaim that woman suffrage is a failure. Equal suffrage is a failure with some kinds of people. A married woman's heart is always in her children and her home—the foundation of the Republic—and any measure affecting either is not a political question with her for a minute. There is only one side to it and that is the right side. A woman's vote is always a patriotic vote.

In fact, the most wise, scientific, and progressive laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of children and women in their personal and property rights, for the humane treatment of the deliquent, dependent, and unfortunate classes, and for the enforcement of the laws and betterment of society are on the statute books of Colorado to-day.

I do not claim that the women are entitled to all of the credit for the enactment of all of these 150 laws. But the mothers and daughters of Colorado have, in my judgment, been the controlling influence that has brought about the enactment of most and have greatly assisted toward all of them. In fact, they have indirectly assisted in the passage of a great many other good laws, and those 150 are 150 good reasons for the women having had a voice in their enactment. I have simply mentioned those as I recollect it, that the women took the most active interest in and for the passage of which I think they are entitled to the main credit. The women are also entitled to the credit of bringing forward, through their various clubs and organizations, many other beneficial measures at every session of the legislature, but many of which have thus far failed to pass. They will, however, not stop until they pass them. It should be remembered that we in Colorado have all of the powerful influences that always work against all reform legislation that they have in all other States, and no reasonable person expects the women to be able to overcome all of those influences and accomplish everything in 18 years.

There may be some minor inaccuracies in reference to these laws, as I have been compelled to prepare this list rather hastily. I have relied upon my own judgment and personal recollection in making these selections. Possibly no two persons would select the same list, and the titles used are partially abbreviations of my own. But I

was a member of the Colorado State Senate during 6 of those 10 sessions of our legislature besides three extra sessions, and was president pro tempore of the senate one term; I was a member of the judiciary committee for 12 years and chairman of the committee for 4 years, and personally helped to pass two-thirds of those laws, and besides twice as many more, so that I ought to be as well qualified as any man in the State to speak on the subject of the women's moral, intellectual, and political influence in causing good legislation; and I candidly believe that I am not putting it too strong or giving them more than their just due when I say that they are fairly entitled to much more commendation than the men for placing on our statute books the greatest number of the most humane and advanced laws that have been enacted by any State in this Union during the past 20 years.

I have made some examination of the laws of other States, and I challenge the entire array of antisuffragists in this country to compare the lawmaking record of Colorado with any male-suffrage State; and I defiantly assert, without the slightest fear of successful contradiction, that unless it be an equal-suffrage State, there is not another State in this Union that has during the past 10 sessions of her general assembly enacted one-half as much beneficial legislation for the protection and moral uplift of the human race.

The splendid record that the women of Colorado have made during the past 18 years is a credit to themselves, an honor to womanhood, and an inspiration to the cause of good government throughout the civilized world.

It is the feminine interest, in motherhood, in the child and in the welfare of the home that has compelled the passage of these laws. Any one of 50 of those laws would be a vindication of equal suffrage. Moreover, the Colorado women are entitled to very great credit which does not appear anywhere, for the vigilant exertion of their influence toward the prevention of bad legislation. A very large number of bad or unnecessary bills have been killed by the votes and suffrage influence of women, and the introduction of many more have been prevented by reason of the fear of that same influence.

The women members have all been exceptionally conscientious, industrious, and capable legislators. They devote their energies mostly to moral questions and matters affecting the home and the children, and the betterment of health and social conditions, including humane measures for the unfortunate of all classes.

The delegates of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, who some time ago visited the different parts of the United States for the purpose of studying American institutions, declared concerning our group of laws relating to child life in its various aspects of education, home, and labor, that "they are the sanest, most humane, most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any statute books in the world."

Woman suffrage in Colorado is and has been an unqualified benefit and universally recognized success. There is no thought or suggestion of its abandonment, the only possible difference of opinion among our citizens on the subject being as to the extent to which it has influenced legislation and the general administration of our public affairs. In the protection of the home and the family relations, of childhood and womanhood, in the guardianship of individual

rights, in the protection of labor, in the matter of education, in the safeguarding of public health and morals, in the prevention of fraud, in the equal distribution of the burdens of government, in the discouragement and punishment of crime, and in the enforcement of humane laws, Colorado stands abreast with the most enlightened and progressive States of the Union.

Mr. Chairman, one of the best traits of human nature is the desire to advise others of the benefits we enjoy in this world and urge them to acquire the same valuable possessions. Scores of patriotic Coloradans, both men and women, have at various times for years traveled over this country from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf, at their own expense, without the slightest hope of reward, telling the people the value of political equality. Colorado being the most prominent and representative equal-suffrage State, has for 19 years been called the principal experimental station for woman suffrage, and the storm center of attack on the part of advocates and opponents. All the shafts of the antisuffragists on earth have been constantly hurled with fiendish desperation at our State. Hundreds of our public-spirited men and women have spent an incalculable amount of time, thought, energy, and money in answering the inquiries from all over the world, and in disproving the many vicious libels of the muck-raking magazines, yellow journals, and wanton slanders of mercenary sensational critics.

While all the old stereotyped stock of objections and obsolete arguments that have been doing valiant service for three generations have long since been exploded and ridiculed out of existence by the women themselves and by the actual experiences of every one of our six equal-suffrage States and by every country in the world where it has been tried—and while I do not at all assume that I can add anything new to what everyone who has studied the question already knows—nevertheless the subject at this time is being more generally discussed throughout the United States than ever before in our history; and as active campaigns for the adoption of equal-rights constitutional amendments are now in progress in the States of Oregon, Kansas, Wisconsin, Ohio, Michigan, and possibly some other States, and as I am receiving hundreds of letters and inquiries from those States and most of the others, I will, even at the risk of merely reiterating some of the conclusive answers that have been more eloquently given many a time before, give some of my personal observations and judgment upon a number of phases of the question. One of the first questions most often asked of me is:

DO THE WOMEN OF COLORADO VOTE?

Anyone can answer that question by simply looking at the election records and the census. Any claim that good women do not vote is squarely and conclusively contradicted by the election returns from all the equal-suffrage States of the Union. If you will compare the total population by this last census, or any census of the States that have equal suffrage, and then take the total vote of those States on the presidential, or on the governor, and compare that vote with the total vote of other States, you will see that the increased votes in the suffrage States is exactly in proportion to the total women population in those States; showing clearly

that the women do vote in practically as large proportion according to their numbers as the men.

In Colorado there are from 35,000 to 40,000 more men than women. At the general fall election once every two years about 85 per cent of all the men and women vote. But owing to there being so many more men than women in the State, by actual count, the vote of the women in the State is on an average about 45 per cent of the entire vote. In some precincts it runs over 50 per cent. On the office which I hold of Congressman at Large, at the presidential election in 1908 I received 127,000 votes and my principal opponent received 121,000, while the Socialist and Prohibition votes amounted to about 15,000, and there were some scattering votes, making a total of about 265,000 votes. There is no State in the Union with the same population as Colorado that had within 125,000 as many votes as Colorado had, showing that there were at least that many women voted in our State, and we had relatively the same proportionate number in the last general State election in 1910 and will have more than that at the election this fall.

Every election, everywhere, there are some men who fail to vote because they have not registered, or haven't time, or don't care, or are sick, or the weather is bad, or have not informed themselves about the issues or candidates. The same reasons apply to a few women every election.

The Colorado Legislature, during the time I was a member, declared, by a practically unanimous vote of both the Senate and the House, that from the time their right to vote was recognized the women of Colorado have exercised the privilege of voting as generally as men. It is an undisputed fact that in every State in the country where the franchise has been extended to women the vote of the men has steadily risen. The vote of the men is much larger in all the equal-suffrage States of the Union than in most of those in which women are unenfranchised.

I am often asked if the best women in Colorado vote. As a matter of fact, it is the good women who vote in the largest numbers, proportionately. That is, in the better residence sections of every city and town and throughout the country the women vote is much larger, in proportion to the female population, than it is in the less prosperous and less desirable localities. There is no class of women in Colorado, no matter what their station in life may be, who do not vote. In the little city of Glenwood Springs, where I live, I do not know of there being a woman in the city or surrounding country who does not vote. The records of nearly every voting precinct in the State will substantiate what I say, and any person who makes the assertion that any appreciable per cent of the good women do not vote is unqualifiedly misrepresenting the facts. There are 125,000 as good and intelligent women as ever lived on this planet who vote at every general election in Colorado, and I am supremely proud to say that more than one-half of them have voted for me twice, and I am almost equally as proud in the belief that I retain the respect of all of those who voted against me. I represent in the House nearly five times as many voters as the other Members do, and I ought to be, and am, the proudest man in Congress of my constituency, especially the women.

DO THE BAD WOMEN OF COLORADO VOTE?

It has been repeatedly stated by numerous governors of our State and many other public officials and prominent politicians that there was only from one-third to one-half of 1 per cent of the women of the State who are immoral or disreputable. From my observations of public affairs and experiences in politics in our State, extending over 30 years, and from my knowledge as district attorney, extending over the northwestern quarter of the State, and services as county attorney and city attorney for many years, and my experience in the State Senate and official consideration of all classes of our people, I am confident that less than one-half of 1 per cent of the women of the State are bad. In other words, there is not more than 1 immoral woman to every 200 good women. So that if all the immoral women voted, which they do not do, and if only one-half of the good women voted, the preponderancy of the good-women votes would be at least 100 to every immoral vote. Therefore, the utterly thoughtless, and in some cases willful, assertion about disreputable women outweighing the number of good women is not only a ridiculous bugaboo, but is a slander upon the women of the country. Throughout all of the Western States the good women outnumber the bad women fully 200 to 1. Moreover, the women of the half-world do not willingly vote at all. They are constantly changing their names and residences. They are a migratory class.

They do not register unless they are compelled to. They do not like to give any data concerning themselves or as to their real name or address. They shrink from publicity and prefer to remain unidentified. The policemen in charge of those parts of every city know substantially the number of them all the time. They are very largely under the power of the police and sheriff's office, and unless they compel them to vote they generally stay away. And even where they are forced to vote, not over one-fifth of them are qualified voters. So that their influence is negligible; in fact, it is actually infinitesimal. They are no menace whatever. Their numbers are not sufficient to amount to anything, and no one pays any attention to them. In fact, if it was known that they were voting for any particular ticket or candidate it would do that ticket or candidate 10 times more harm than good. Of all classes of women, prostitutes are the ones who least wish to be registered and vote.

Some people seem to have the queer impression that everybody in a city or town votes in the same place, and that the men and women have a general scramble to vote, and all kinds of unseemly conduct on election day. We of the West can not comprehend how any sensible people can get such ideas. No large crowds of people vote in one place. Every city and town and the country is divided into small election precincts, usually not over 300 voters in a precinct. Everyone must vote in his or her own precinct. There are no lewd women in the country or in the small towns, and in the large towns and all cities they are strictly confined to certain districts. They are not allowed in the residence portions of the city. In the city of Denver, with its population of 215,000, there are, as I recollect it, 211 election precincts, and all the scarlet women are confined to 3 or 4 precincts. So that 99 per cent of the women of the city never come in contact with or ever see them. The same applies generally

over the State. In fully 19 out of every 20 precincts in the State there are no immoral women whatever. Unless she lives in one of those precincts including the "red-light" district, no respectable woman ever sees an immoral woman at an election in Colorado.

The assertion is made by some antisuffragists that by granting the right to vote to women there will be added to the vote of every criminal man the vote of a criminal woman is utterly without foundation. The vicious and criminal class among women is comparatively very small indeed. In the prisons of the United States, including all kinds of offenders, only 5 per cent of the prisoners are women. In other words, there are 20 criminal men to every criminal woman. In the Colorado State Penitentiary and Reformatory there are to-day nearly 900 men, and only about 20 women. Equal suffrage would increase the moral and law-abiding vote at least 200 to very immoral or criminal vote. This is a matter not of conjecture, but of statistics.

In the State of Idaho prostitutes are disfranchised entirely, and if they at any time should become a disturbing element or in the slightest affect the result of elections, that action would undoubtedly be promptly taken in the other States. One reason it has not, I apprehend, is because a great many bad men vote, and many so-called good men do not. Moreover, there is a kind of a humane sentiment that so long as they never take any part in elections and so few of them vote, that no one should wish to deny this most unfortunate class of human beings whatever protection a vote can give them; at least, so long as men of the same class are voters.

DO HUSBANDS AND WIVES VOTE ALIKE?

Among the various far-fetched and so-called grounds of opposition to woman suffrage that I have heard, and which is utterly without foundation, is the assertion that women would become as partisan or more so than men, and thereby merely double the party vote and accomplish no real good. Nothing could be further from the actual facts. Women, when they are enfranchised, in every State are, practically speaking, nonpartisan. They have not, like the men, inherited their politics from their fathers; and in States where the people are nearly evenly divided between the parties, practically half of the girls marry men of different politics from that of their fathers. So that in reality they start in comparatively nonpartisan, or, at least, very independent, and the great majority of them remain so. While possibly from 75 to 90 per cent of the married women vote mainly the general party ticket the same way that their husbands do, because their interests are the same, nevertheless, a small per cent of them always vote independently; and all of them are perfectly free to scratch their ticket, and a very, very large per cent of them do so. It is very seldom that either party elects a straight ticket. We nearly always have a mixture of officeholders. In other words, the women are nothing like as partisan as the men. They are very intelligent voters. They know the art of scratching thoroughly; they are exceedingly proficient in picking out fellows who are no good.

While they vote the head of the ticket quite largely as their husbands or brothers do, nevertheless they always feel perfectly at liberty, and they exercise the freedom of selecting good men on the opposite ticket, and almost invariably vote against bad men on what

may be called their own party ticket. And that freedom of action never causes any friction whatever in the home. I have never in my life heard of a Colorado man having a quarrel or even assuming to complain or criticize his wife for exercising her choice and best judgment. In fact, some strong party men who feel that for party regularity they should not vote against anyone on their own ticket, at the same time they haven't the slightest objections to their wives exercising an intelligent independence which they know is for the general good, and which they feel it is not policy for them to exercise. In fact, every politician in the State has occasion to know that women can and will scratch their tickets. And women have mastered, as they quickly do, the art of scratching; they have learned the most difficult feature of voting.

Women are not natural-born politicians like men are. They are not as crafty or ambitions politically as the men are. The natural result is that the men practically control politics, i. e., the party machinery of the State. At the same time the women read the papers. They talk among themselves. They learn quite fully about all the candidates and what they stand for. They discuss political issues and the candidates with the male members of the family, and they are thoroughly advised as to who's who. Women's interests can not, generally speaking, be roused very much by mere partisan strife. Women never become hysterical, and very seldom show much enthusiasm over a mere party nominee. Their interests center around questions affecting education, public cleanliness, public morals, civic beauty, charity and corrections, and public health, public libraries, the care of the children and the home, and the enforcement of human laws, and such subjects and matters as affect the welfare of the home and family. Men look after the business interests and financial questions, while the moral and humane questions appeal more to the women. In other words, men and women are different in their character and thoughts, and the influence and judgment of both is beneficial in civic and governmental affairs just the same as they are in well-regulated and orderly family relations. The husband is hustling for the almighty dollar and thinking about business matters, while the wife and mother is more directly concerned about the welfare of the children and the preservation of the home, the moral surroundings of the family, and his and her public actions are largely a reflection of the same man and woman sentiments that appear in an orderly conducted home.

A just man ought to, and every loyal son of Colorado does, accord to every other human being, even to his own wife, the same political rights which he demands for himself.

ARE WOMEN OFFICE SEEKERS?

No one need have any fear of the women monopolizing all the offices. There has never been any rush of women for offices. Giving a woman the right to vote does not change her feminine characteristics or her womanly nature in the slightest. The women as a class are never chronic or inveterate office seekers. In fact, there is not one out of a thousand who ever thinks of being a candidate for any office. They are not ambitious for office. They are never avaricious for power and influence like men are. Men are shrewder

politicians and much more unscrupulous than women. In 9 cases out of 10 when a woman does seek the nomination for an office she is earnestly solicited to do so by many of her friends and acquaintances who recognize her exceptional qualifications for the position. Moreover, women scarcely ever strive for or want the more important positions that the men want. The men want the positions that pay the large salaries and require executive ability and other responsibilities, and that involve control of party machinery, patronage, and large affairs. As a rule women are never candidates for positions of that kind. They do not care to be political bosses, and 999 out of 1,000 instinctively shrink from allowing themselves to be made candidates for the highest or best positions.

There is no reason why a fair share of important offices should not be given to women, and they undoubtedly will be as time goes on and women become more qualified to fill them. But in the meantime the women are contented with the educational and charitable positions and minor places that require energy and much painstaking diligence and conscientious work, and which are compensated by smaller salaries. Furthermore, it should be remembered that all of the offices in any State or county or city is only an infinitesimal amount in number as compared with the entire population and there is not one-tenth as much reason for the claim that if women vote all of them would want to hold office than there is regarding the men. Neither of them can be elected without receiving the majority of all the votes, both male and female, and that vote will not be given to either unless the candidate is well fitted for the position.

There are many public spirited and well-to-do women who have more leisure than their husbands, and who take an active interest in charitable work and the welfare of the unfortunate; and they often serve on those official boards and do a world of good without any compensation whatever. But they are clothed with the authority that compels the officials in charge to carry out their recommendations, which they would not do if the women were not backed up by the ballot.

The voting age of women is 21 years, the same as men, and in Colorado there are only a comparatively small per cent of the women 21 years of age who are not married, and most of those who are not married are school-teachers, or stenographers, or deputies in offices, or occupying some clerical position, or clerking in stores. All of the women of Colorado are exceptionally intelligent and well informed on public affairs. The great majority of the married women have their family affairs to look after and they do not care to hold offices. But all of them are interested in who are elected to offices, and the way the public officials administer their offices.

OFFICES NOW HELD BY WOMEN IN COLORADO.

State superintendent of public instruction: Mrs. Helen M. Wixon.

Regent of State university: Miss Anna L. Wolcott, a sister of former United States Senator Edward O. Wolcott.

State penitentiary commissioner: Mrs. Helen L. Grenfel (formerly for six years State superintendent of public instruction).

President election's commission in city and county of Denver: Miss Ellis Meredith.

Four members of the legislature: Mrs. Alma V. Lafferty, Mrs. Agnes L. Riddle, Mrs. Louise U. Jones, and Mrs. Louise M. Kerwin (the first named being chairman of the committee on education).

Judge of the county court of Eagle County: Mrs. Lydia B. Tague (probably the first instance in the history of the world where a woman has been the judge of an important court of record).

Auditor of city of Pueblo: Mrs. Carrie E. Truman.

Two members of the State board of charities and corrections: Mrs. Ella S. Williams and Dr. Elizabeth Cassidy.

President State civil service commission: Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker (formerly president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs).

Trustee State normal school: Mrs. Thalia A. Rhoads.

Trustee of State school for deaf and blind: Mrs. M. S. McDonald.

Factory inspector: Mrs. Katherine Williamson.

Four of the five members of both the boards of trustees of the State home for dependent and neglected children and industrial school for girls.

Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, the present superintendent of public instruction in the city and county of Denver, was a delegate to the last National Democratic Convention.

Mrs. Anna H. Pitzer, of Colorado Springs, the sister-in-law of Speaker Champ Clark, has just been elected a delegate to the National Democratic Convention that meets in Baltimore in June, 1912.

County superintendents of public instruction in 45 out of the 62 counties in the State.

In 5 or 6 counties the offices of either a county commissioner or the county clerk or county treasurer is held by a woman.

There are over 500 women members of school boards throughout the State.

The positions of postmaster are held by women in, I think, about 40 towns in the State.

The positions of clerk or treasurer in some 40 or 50 cities and towns are held by women, and a great many deputyships are held by women.

There are several women official court stenographers and clerks of courts.

Women have held office more extensively in Colorado than in any of the other suffrage States so far. Most of them have been married women or widows with grown or half-grown children.

The right of suffrage has quite largely increased the number of women chosen to such offices as were already open to them before. In Colorado women were eligible to the position of county superintendent of schools before their enfranchisement, but when they obtained the ballot the number of women elected to these positions showed an immediate and very large increase.

The duties of the offices which the women hold are performed in an efficient manner and above all things they are absolutely honest.

DOES EQUAL SUFFRAGE CAUSE DIVORCES?

There is not a single instance on record anywhere in any court in the State, and there never in 20 years has been a case in Colorado, where a divorce has been granted on account of political differences,

or where the trouble between husband and wife arose from politics, or where either one ever even claimed that politics had anything to do with it. So that the charge made against our State as to divorces being in any manner connected with equal suffrage is as false as anything can be. Differences in religion between husbands and wives produce a thousand times more quarrels than differences in politics do, and yet no one would nowadays ever think of trying to compel a woman to choose her religion to suit her husband.

DO WOMEN LOSE ANY OF THEIR INFLUENCE OR CEASE TO BE AS MUCH RESPECTED?

The brazen claim that women will unsex or lose any of the respect of men is not only entirely without foundation, but utterly absurd. In the olden times men had the right to chastise their wives. They could take them out in the smokehouse and whip them. Have the men nowadays got any less respect for their wives because they can not lick them any more? Respect for woman is based upon her moral character, her intelligence, and her own self-respect. Women are not becoming less respected because they have been admitted to colleges and universities. Women are just as feminine in Colorado as any place on earth, and they are better wives because they are better informed and more companionable to their husbands. The enfranchisement of the wife has given another common interest to the household. It has had no tendency to create discord in the home. On the contrary, it has brought a comradeship in politics, something similar to that of religion, that used to be found in many families in the East.

There is nothing whatever degrading to a woman to quietly go down to the polls on election day once or twice a year and cast her vote along with her husband or brother or with women friends. There is not the slightest tendency whatever in Colorado among the men to omit the ordinary politeness due the women. In fact, I believe our women by their superior general intelligence and companionable charms, command and receive more courteous attention than in any other State. Under equal suffrage there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings nor as property, but as equal and full citizens. We are proud of our Colorado women. Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand of them conduct themselves in a ladylike and exemplary manner and we know that the highest consideration of justice and good government justifies and demands equal suffrage for women. I have little regard for a son who swells up and says that he is better than his mother. To-day a boy in his teens in a country or a State where women are given the right to vote, does not look upon his mother or his sister as belonging to the sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere, but as a human being, clothed with the dignity of all those rights and powers which he hopes to enjoy within a few years.

The differences between men and women are natural; they are not the result of disfranchisement. The fact that all men have equal rights before the law does not wipe out the natural differences of character and temperament between man and man. Why should it wipe out the natural differences between men and women? Both

men and women of the various different countries where woman suffrage is granted are much different in their looks and manners from each other; and yet it has had no perceptible effect toward unsexing or making women less womanly than they have always been.

To us people of the West it is utterly stupid for anyone to assume that the vote will lessen the present influence of women. The influence of any class of men, or any individual man, has never in the world been lessened because he had the power to vote. Such absurd and ancient falsehoods should no longer be tolerated or listened to as serious arguments.

DO WOMEN BECOME PARTISAN?

Women will vote for the right as they see it. They vote for men rather than party principles. That is one of the reasons that they are feared by certain politicians. I have heard it said great reformers never vote straight tickets, and women very seldom do. They are conservative reformers. Woman's adherence to party does not generally prevail as against her judgment on policies or candidates. They take the motto as a slogan, "within the party if we can, without it if we must."

There has never been a purely party measure that has been espoused by women in the Colorado Legislature. The women of all parties want the same things and have always worked for them together in perfect harmony. Men thoroughly understand that, in legislative matters, when they oppose the women they are opposing practically all of the women and the great independent vote of the State.

Men are stronger politically than women, and men dominate the politics of the State and cities. But man's domination is always influenced and often controlled by woman's natural and instinctive desire for honesty and better moral conditions in politics as in everything else. There is no such thing as a distinct woman's vote in the sense that there is in most cities an Italian vote or a Swede vote or a German vote.

Men lose sight of these important considerations in the scramble for partisan warfare for office, but women will not permit them to be obscured by anything.

HAVE COLORADO WOMEN LOST THEIR WOMANLINESS OR DETERIORATED MORALLY?

The objection that "it is unwomanly" has been made to every change in the status of woman from the time she ceased to be a beast of burden and we men decided to give her a soul and a seat at our dinner table to the present time. The days when ridicule and contempt were the reception accorded any attempt of the woman to enlarge her activities or broaden and enrich her life belong to another century. We have to-day urgent need for better and wiser mothers. The feminist leaders of Europe and the United States are changing the attitude of the race toward one-half of its members.

To-day girls form 56 per cent of the pupils enrolled in our secondary schools and a large majority of those in all our high schools.

The old days when women were compelled to keep silent are past. To-day in every field of human endeavor her voice is heard. By the legal establishment and recognizing of woman citizenship, the intellect and character and reciprocal estimation of both sexes has been raised. The possession of the ballot has given women an interest in general as well as political affairs, and this has naturally stimulated the men.

There is no real ground of fear for American marriages and the home. Nothing can break the bond between the sexes. Our own higher development will bring better conditions. We will have higher and happier marriages than ever before.

It is an absolute fallacy—the assertion that the activity of women in politics is in any sense whatever a movement of the sexes against each other; in reality it is the making of the sexes more companionable to each other and nearer on an equality.

Ex-Gov. Alva Adams, of Colorado, said before the House Judiciary Committee:

> I have known personally at least 10,000 women voters of Colorado, and I have never known one to be less a woman, or less a mother, or less a housekeeper, or less a heart keeper from the fact that she voted—not one. I have studied this question for 30 years. I did not go out there as this correspondent (the author of an article in the Outlook) went out there, with a lunch basket and a return ticket, and simply expect in 10 days to pass judgment upon this great experiment.

There is no place on this planet where women are more womanly, more modest, more charming, or more attentive to their home duties or better wives or mothers than they are in Colorado. In fact, we know that the broadened influence which the ballot has given them has very largely tended to enhance the very virtues and charms which distinguishes true womanhood.

DO WOMEN NEGLECT THEIR HOMES AND CHILDREN?

We have from childhood constantly heard the solemn assertion that the place for women is the home. I have never heard of anyone denying that platitude, and certainly the women of Colorado do not deny it. If there is anything in this world that a woman naturally wants it is a home. That is her natural place, and her main task in this world is home making. In fact, every married woman in this country is a self-appointed and ex-officio member of the Women's Home Protective League. But nowadays home is not contained within the four walls of an individual house. Home is merely the center of her sphere from which her influence should radiate. The home is largely the community, and the city or town full of people is the larger family of womankind. A woman can not merely stay in the home. Even to have a clean house it is necessary to have clean streets. To have clean streets it is necessary to elect a clean mayor. The same may be applied to all municipal officers and to school boards and health boards. In fact, all government today is in a certain sense merely housekeeping on a large scale. For some parts of this housekeeping the men may always remain better qualified than women. In other parts of it women will always be better qualified than men. But it takes both men and women to make a home. Mothers need the ballot to regulate the moral condi-

tions under which their children must be brought up. The men's time is consumed in looking after industrial and commercial interests; but they need the cooperation and help of women in things governing home life. The community and the welfare of men themselves need the increased influence of women more than even the women need the ballot. Woman is largely responsible, not only for the cleanliness of her house and the wholesomeness of the food, but for the health and morals of the children and the conditions under which her children live; and if she is primarily held responsible for those conditions she should have something to say in the election of the officials and the making of the laws and ordinances by which those conditions are governed.

Equal suffrage in Colorado has made a new and powerful community of interests in the home, and it is a good thing for all members of the home and for the home itself. The responsibility of voting does not for a moment divert feminine attention from home duties. In fact, it accentuates woman's place in the home by giving her an important place in its protection.

But there is another serious and important consideration. There are upward of 7,000,000 women in the United States to-day who in reality have no home. Economic conditions have driven them into the factory, the mill, the shop, and the store. They have not left their homes of their own volition; they are not earning a livelihood in competition with the men of their own election. No one will ever assert that women voluntarily leave their homes to become wage earners. If some of them think the ballot would help them to better their conditions and enable them to have homes, are they to be blamed and ridiculed for entertaining that hope?

Ninety-nine per cent of the women of Colorado take no more time in politics than to attend probably two or three political meetings every two years and go to the polls on election day to cast their vote. The women of Colorado, generally speaking, do not spend 1 per cent of their time in political matters that they spend in social duties. It only takes a Colorado woman 10 or 15 minutes away from her home to cast a vote. But during those few minutes she is wielding the most tremendous power any woman ever had on this earth for the protection of her home and the homes of all others.

DOES IT INCREASE OR DIMINISH CORRUPTION IN POLITICS?

There is no man worthy of the name who will deny the statement that the influence of his mother and his wife and his sister and his daughter is good. Her influence is beneficial from her childhood to her grave. Is there a man who would have the hardihood to say that he feels his mother, his wife, his sister, or daughter would be more corrupt than he is, or less honest than he is, in exercising the elective franchise? When you grant equal suffrage to women, it is our mothers and wives and sisters and daughters who are going to vote. And if you assume that the influence of the ignorant or disreputable women is going to outweigh that of the good and the moral women of the country, you are either assuming that a majority of the women are ignorant or disreputable, or that the good women will not vote. I must emphatically deny both of those as-

sumptions. The records conclusively show that good women do vote, and every decent citizen knows that the overwhelming majority of women are moral, are intelligent, and are thoughtful and reputable; and they are as solicitous about the moral welfare of the community and society as the men are; and, in fact, more so. I have never heard of a woman being prosecuted, or even seriously charged with the commission of a crime in regard to an election. I have heard it repeatedly stated, and I believe it is true, that the men are guilty of 99 per cent of all political corruption in Colorado.

There may possibly be a few very rare cases where a woman has been implicated in some political crookedness, but if there are any such cases that I have never heard of you will find that she was put up to it by some men who were trying to shield themselves behind her, and there will be 99 men more guilty than she. And when it comes to the exercising of the elective franchise, I am absolutely certain that for every woman who may have been justly chargeable with any wrongdoing there will be 99 men who are more guilty. We have sent a good many men to jail and some to the penitentiary; and, of course, some of them may sometimes attempt to hide behind the skirt of some woman of whom they have tried to make a stool-pigeon. But it is not true that women in any appreciable number whatever voluntarily enter into any kind of political fraud. They are intensely in favor of clean politics and honest elections. Women will vote for the right as they see it. In fact, the good moral influence of women is splendidly demonstrated in politics. Generally speaking, throughout the entire State there has been a wonderful change in the places and manner of holding elections in Colorado. The meetings for the caucuses and the polling places are all in respectable places, and there is no rowdyism or disturbances whatever about the polls; and our political conventions, while they are intensely exciting and the interest runs high, because Coloradoans are wide awake and ambitious people, at the same time all public meetings are conducted in an orderly manner and no woman need hesitate to attend them either as a delegate or as a spectator.

No one claims that all women are honorable, and political power may occasionally uncover some moral weakness. But women are by far the most virtuous, most moral, and equally intelligent half of our population. A people will have a government just as good as, and no better than, they are.

One sure way of answering the question as to whether or not equal suffrage increases corruption in politics is to inquire as to who are the opponents of equal suffrage. Everyone who knows anything about woman suffrage, or about human nature, knows that the vicious and criminal vote is always cast solidly against equal rights for women. All those who thrive upon the violation of the law in any way, or upon corruption in politics, are the bitterest enemies of woman suffrage. Every gambler, every ballot-box stuffer, every political thug, every professional debaucher of the public morals, and every conceivable variety of crook will never cease exhausting his vocabulary cursing woman suffrage.

DOES IT DOUBLE THE IGNORANT, OR FOREIGN, OR CRIMINAL VOTE?

As there are one-third more girls than boys attending the high schools of this country, the women are very rapidly becoming the more educated class. According to the last census, the illiterate men of this country very greatly outnumber the illiterate women. Therefore, extending the franchise to women will actually increase the proportion of intelligent voters. Moreover, extending the franchise to women will very largely increase the number of native-born voters, because there are in the United States over twelve times as many native-born women as foreign born. It is also a matter of record that a less proportion of the foreign born than the native born vote, and, as there are much fewer women than men immigrants, the enfranchisement of women will therefore doubly tend to minimize the influence of the foreign vote.

Another important feature is that the foreign women are usually much better in morals and intelligence than the foreign men to whom the ballot is already given.

According to the census of 1910, there are in the United States 7,500,000 foreign males and 5,800,000 foreign females—that is, 129 foreign males to every 100 females of the same class. A foreign vote is objectionable only so far as it is an ignorant vote. Intelligent foreigners, both men and women, are usually very acceptable citizens. We also notice another interesting feature in this connection in Colorado, and that is that, owing to their Old World ideas which the foreigners bring with them, the foreign women do not vote but very little indeed until they become quite thoroughly Americanized.

While on ordinary questions the foreign-woman vote would be very much like the native-woman vote, and would to quite a large degree duplicate the men's vote, that would not be true of special questions affecting women and children or the home, or matters of morality or questions of decency. This is one of the main points of the equal-suffrage question. And if women take the moral and humane side on questions affecting the welfare of the home and the good of society, it is of comparatively little importance whether or not on other questions their votes are duplicates. The taxes paid by women will very much more than meet the cost of printing and counting the extra ballots. Moreover, in a democracy like ours it is of the greatest importance and benefit to the whole people, both men and women, that all of the population interest themselves in all public questions. It has been repeatedly stated that a republic is sound at heart only when all of its adult members take an ardent interest in its affairs. Too many votes can not possibly be cast in a right cause in a democracy which lives and breathes by the public opinion of the men and women who compose it.

There is in this country no lack in our politics of business ability, executive talent, or shrewdness of any kind. But there is much danger of lack of conscience, character, and humanity. The business interests, which appeal more specially to men, are well looked after; but the moral and humanitarian interests, which appeal more specially to women, are too apt to be neglected.

DO WOMEN READILY UNDERSTAND POLITICS?

The ludicrous assertion that women should not be allowed to vote because they do not know enough is only equaled in antiquity and absurdity by the little old, familiar verse:

> Mother, dear, may I go swim?
> Yes, my darling daughter;
> Go hang you clothes on a hickory limb,
> But don't go near the water.

The women of Seattle knew enough to fire a crooked mayor in about 15 minutes after they were given the ballot, and they knew enough again a few days ago to defeat him for reelection.

Women learn how to vote mighty quickly. They do not have to serve any apprenticeship to know the difference between decency and corruption, or between an honest man and a crook. She always knows the difference between good and bad government, and everything pertaining to educational matters or matters affecting the home; and all politicians will very soon learn that she is exceedingly alert and well informed upon all moral questions and questions affecting society and good government and clean candidates. She comprehends intuitively and instinctively. In fact, on questions of that kind she is much more interested than men, and the advice of every married woman is of great assistance to her husband. In reality, on all questions of that kind instead of a husband voting his wife, there is a great deal more likelihood of the wife voting the husband.

It is utterly absurd and idiotic to assert that women are not sufficiently intelligent to vote. And even if they had no more intelligence than the ignorant portions of the male population that vote, they have a great deal more honesty than the men have, and honesty is needed in politics of the present day even more than intelligence. They certainly have sufficient intelligence to decide whether they are properly governed and who they will be governed by.

THE DEVELOPING POWER OF RESPONSIBILITY.

Responsibility is one of the greatest instruments of education, both morally and intellectually, and woman never will become thoroughly versed in matters of politics until she is given the opportunity of studying them under the stimulus and check of responsibility.

When we consider her handicaps, not merely her natural handicaps, but the unnatural handicaps imposed upon her by civilization and sentiment; when we consider that for ages she has been discouraged from trying to do anything outside of the home, it is no wonder that she can not do all things as well as men. The wonder is that she does so many things as well as she does. Politically speaking, women are somewhat like uneducated children. They need to be given the aid and stimulus of sufficient imagination to know what the lack of education or of responsible citizenship means.

The great economic questions of to-day affect the women just as much as they do the men. Their interests are mutual and equal, and her enfranchisement has conclusively proven in the six Western

States that the result is a more enlightened and better balanced citizenship and a truer democracy. It has been said that the more civilization advances the more the interests of men and women coincide and the more the suppression of their proper sphere has decreased.

One-fifth of all the women of this country have been compelled to go into the field of business and take positions formerly held by men and are actively earning their own support. The ballot is just as imperatively necessary to them as it is to the men. It is not only contrary to the principles of fair dealing to deny the women the right to vote, but this country needs the influence of her ballot, as will be conclusively shown by the result of her vote wherever it has been given to her. It seems to me infamous that women should be longer classed as political nonentities, the same as lunatics, Chinamen, criminals, and children. While there is a good reason for excluding all of those political nonentities excepting women, there is no good reason under heaven for excluding an intelligent woman from trying to better the conditions which affect her by the use of the ballot.

There is no argument or objection ever made against woman suffrage that has not been conclusively disproved by the facts in the States where it has been tried. She has improved and adorned the offices she has held and the laws she has helped to make and made better the politics of our State, as she does everything else she touches.

A woman who is self-centered and satisfied with the gratification of her appetite and vanities is not the highest ideal of our race and is not performing her highest duty to society or to humanity.

Back here in the East at the present time and in the discussion of the subject before the committee we hear some of the same old arguments that we heard in Colorado 20 years ago, when the campaign was on for woman suffrage in our State, and it is in the light of all these subsequent years that we look back at the absurd and ridiculous claims that were made at that time. Those objections have been demonstrated beyond question to have all been based upon prejudice, bias, and fictitious assumption.

There were in our State a number of women who, before they were enfranchised, did not want to vote. Since then nearly all of them have been faithfully performing their duty.

In all of the States in the Union where men have been compelled to yield up some of their so-called inalienable rights and divide some of their assumed natural sphere with women it has been discovered that women can really cast an intelligent ballot; that equality in a material sphere works out to the betterment of both and to the welfare of society; and that equal political right in those States is not any more listed as one of the absurdities.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE IS EDUCATING AND BROADENING.

I have heard it said that the greatest school of life is the ballot box. The present world movement for the enfranchisement of women shows that under the influence of advanced civilization the nations of the earth are becoming ready for universal suffrage and the conception of society which it implies. Feminism is a world

movement. It is a part of the eternal forward march of the human race toward a genuine democracy. The whole history of the development of civilization is merely the story of broadening the channel of human liberty and opportunity. All over the world woman is doing and thinking more effectively than ever before.

An eminent author has stated that the most impressive and portentous development of our twentieth century social order is the woman problem. What is the race going to do with the woman? And what is the woman going to do with the race?

When you consider that women started at the zero point in this country a hundred years ago, with customs and her own sentiment against her, and that her admission to the colleges designed for men was contested more stubbornly than her original admission to the primary school had been, we must admit that her rise in the educational world is a brilliant feat. It certainly has forever disposed of the argument that she is unable.

Women's clubs are a wonderfully educational movement. It is within the memory of most of us when the American women first began to form themselves into clubs. At first they were merely little local literary organizations. Afterwards the matters affecting the welfare of the community were taken up for consideration; and then the women commenced forming State federations and afterwards national federations; and to-day the General Federation of Women's Clubs, working in conjunction with the International Council of Women, are doing a wonderfully beneficial and humane work for the amelioration of the conditions of women all over the world.

The women's organizations thoroughly realize that their cause for the betterment of humanity can be best advanced by giving the women the ballot. It is rapidly coming to a condition where the intelligent women of the world are making this appeal for equal rights on the ground of natural justice, on the ground of the highest expediency, and on the ground of the abstract right of all women to all possible means of education, and all civil rights and privileges which the men enjoy.

The change in the status of women has been so enormous during the past 50 years that to-day the opinion of educated women can no longer be ignored by educated men. Some one has said that the demands of woman suffrage is only one of the outward symbols of the stupendous revolution which has taken place during the last 50 years.

The women of Colorado are quite largely members of various clubs, and they wield an influence that is hardly conceivable by people who do not live in the State. They do not only have all the clubs there are in other States, but they also have political clubs; and there is a great deal of family discussion of public questions, which all has an unquestionable tendency to educate and broaden not only the mind of the wife, but the members of the family. Increased responsibility causes increased development and improvement, and increased development means intelligent action and patriotism.

I have often heard it said that one of the largest book stores in Denver sold more books on political economy, sociology, and kindred subjects within six months after women were enfranchised than during the entire previous 20 years. There is no question but what the

possession of the right to vote creates an incentive to broader thoughts and greater interest in mankind and womankind for their mutual development.

THE SCHOOLS OF COLORADO.

Colorado spends more money per capita on her schools than any other State in the Union. There is no difference made in the salaries of teachers on account of sex. The children have a right to legal protection, and their mothers, who are their natural and best guardians, have a right to be given every means necessary for their protection.

There is not a child in Colorado but what has a seat in a school and is guarded by law compelling its parents to allow it to go to school. Does anyone believe for a moment that if the women had the power to make themselves felt in the administration of public affairs that there would be to-day 100,000 children on half-time in the schools of New York City and 25,000 without seats in schools in the city of Philadelphia, and an equal proportion in Chicago and many other large cities in this country? Does any sane person believe that if the women of this country had a vote that it would have taken 50 years to have passed the bill that just passed through the House of Representatives creating a Federal bureau for the protection of children? The statistics will show that, practically speaking, there are no illiterate voters in the State of Colorado. A very large part of our population is American born. The foreign-born voters must be fully naturalized citizens and must have resided at least one year in our State; therefore neither men nor women are allowed to vote until they are fully identified and acquainted with our affairs and conditions.

Women have equal suffrage in school elections, I believe, in 30 States of the Union. Has anyone ever had the effrontery to assert that their influence has contaminated or had any evil effect upon school elections or made less effective the teaching of moral instruction in those States? There never was a moral law started anywhere in any State in this Republic but what it has had the support of a great majority of the women. Everyone knows that there is a much stronger propensity in women than in men toward the discharge of duties relating to child life. Their moral, educational, and health conditions depend largely upon woman for development, and she can not efficiently discharge these obligations without concerning herself as to the laws regulating such affairs. If she is given the ballot she then has the power to safeguard the children by giving to them the protection of important laws. It is said that in many States where women have a right to vote upon school elections that the women pay comparatively little attention to them. That may be true where there is no special interest or moral question involved and where the candidates are equally worthy. But where one candidate represents the moral and another the immoral side of questions affecting the welfare of children the women invariably take an active interest, and it is needless to say that they are always on the side of decency.

In the State of Colorado women have always had the right to vote in school elections; and it is true that they formerly paid compara-

tively little attention to it, excepting, as I have stated, when some moral issue was at stake. But since they have been given the full right and responsibility of voting, tens of thousands of women vote at every election who never in former days thought of voting at a school election.

Another helpful and healthful feature is that prominent women—wives of men in well-to-do circumstances—who have no children, or whose children have grown up, are beginning more and more to recognize the obligations which they owe to others not so fortunate in personal protection; and large numbers of them spend a great deal of time and money in their efforts and successful determination of bettering the laws and conditions surrounding the children of the poor and helpless. A glance at the laws, which I have given, will convince anyone that the enfranchisement of women has exercised a beneficent influence upon the public schools, and toward bettering all school conditions, and for the general protection and welfare of the youth of our Commonwealth.

It has been stated that "Women the world over are reformers." That is unquestionably true; and it is equally true that women are progressive. But they are sanely and conservatively progressive. They are never fanatical or revolutionary. They are wisely discriminating and shrewd in their public actions. They interest themselves primarily in things of the home, things that make for purity, decency, and humanity. Movements that are more social than political. Matters that pertain to education, morals, civic beauty, charities and corrections, sanitation of school houses, charitable and reformatory institutions, and specially and above all, everything relating to children.

ELECTION-DAY CUSTOMS IN COLORADO.

One of the greatest outrages that has ever been perpetrated upon any class of public spirited and splendid citizens is the infamous misrepresentations sent out by tourists critics, and anonymous liars about election-day customs in Colorado; and to us the amazing part of it is, why the eastern press will swallow and publish such stuff without ever making the slightest effort to verify it; and in fact positively refuse to publish the truth about the actual facts in the suffrage States. The result is the general public have imbibed a large per cent of the lurid, slanderous, and mercenary libels concerning women suffrage. An election day in Colorado is in no way different from election day in States where only male suffrage obtains, excepting that there is an entire lack of drunkenness and disorder of every kind. Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell, in a public address, recently said that in 17 years of her actual experience she had never yet seen an intoxicated man, or heard an oath, or seen a discourteous action toward any woman at the polling places.

My wife goes to the polls with me and she, like all other women, always votes absolutely as she will, and she never wills to vote for a bad man, even if he is on my ticket. The slanders which we hear about women suffrage not only debase the people who utter them, but they are an impeachment of the decency and honesty of womanhood everywhere.

In residence sections the polling place is usually at a private house. There is never the least disorder at the polls, no discourtesy or offense of any kind. It is not as trying and does not require as long as it does to go to a dry goods or grocery store. Women often sit beside the men as judges of elections, and nearly always two women act as clerks of election. Women attend political meetings quite generally and their presence always insures order and decorous procedure.

COLORADO IS THE TOP OF THE WORLD.

The Centennial State is a beacon light to all her sisters. We are supremely proud of the advancement that we have made, and we are frank in according to our women their just and full share in its accomplishment. I have never seen any serious disturbance at any political meeting in my State nor witnessed the slightest disorder at any polling place during the past 18 years. The women often take their babies to the polls in a gocart.

A man must give his exact age, while a woman only swears she is over 21 years old.

Husband and wife, father and daughter, brothers and sisters, or women in pairs or little groups go to the polls together as to any other meeting. No political party nor the officials of any party would think of locating a polling place anywhere where a woman would hesitate to go. The polls are as much protected as the post office or any other respectable place. No man ever attempts to show anything but respect to women at the polls. There is no electioneering within 100 feet of the polls. Everything about the polling booth is courteous and orderly. Immoral women do not disturb or trouble good women any more at the polls than they do at a store or at a theater. Generally speaking, there are no saloons in the residence portions of any city or town, and I would say ninety-five precincts out of every hundred in the State have no saloons in them. and in ninety-nine out of every hundred precincts in the State there are no immoral women. Women are nothing like as venal as men naturally, and, in fact, there is never any attempt made to corrupt them. In fact, women give an atmosphere of decency and respectability to the voting places. In the elections they are treated with all due respect and make election day one of pleasure instead of one of riot and drunkenness.

Polling places are not only in proper and convenient buildings, but they are always orderly and clean. There is no smoking or swearing or unseemly conduct of any kind. The individual dignity of women is strengthened by the ballot. I never knew of a woman being even embarrassed at the polls or at any public meeting. While the women take as much interest in voting as do the men, they do not neglect their home duties by standing on the streets talking politics.

The difference between "influence" and "power" can readily be seen by comparing the results in Colorado and in other States where women do not vote. The women of our State have lost none of their influence, but they have in addition the power of the constituency, and the men of our mountain republic who are chivalrous enough to do the women justice are chivalrous enough still to keep them enthroned by their sides.

RESULT OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO.

I have lived in Colorado for 31 years and have taken an active part in public affairs during practically all of that time. I personally know the condition of politics before and since woman suffrage was granted; and while my judgment may not coincide with some others, I certainly have no reason for making any erroneous statements or expressing other than my candid judgment, and I can honestly and conscientiously say that I do not know of any bad effects whatever that woman suffrage has had in the State of Colorado, and I do know of enough good that they have accomplished to fill many volumes.

At the time it was adopted in Colorado people both feared and expected too much as a result of woman suffrage. In fact, the enthusiasts for every reform hope for more than they realize, while the opponents always fear the worst possible results. Woman suffrage has not brought about the millennium. It has not entirely changed human nature nor abolished dishonesty or crime. But, in the language of Colorado's grand old man, Senator Henry M. Teller—

> Woman suffrage has resulted in nothing that is objectionable and in much that is advantageous.

I believe I could prepare a list of at least a thousand beneficial results of equal suffrage in Colorado and an equal number of reasons why women should vote. I will not at all attempt to enumerate them, but, in addition to those I have already mentioned, will merely give in a very general and possibly somewhat disconnected way some of the results as I see them.

Equal suffrage has unquestionably compelled a very great improvement in the standing and moral character of the candidates nominated for office by all political parties.

It has equally improved the political conventions, assemblies, and public meetings and the management of all the different political campaigns previous to elections.

It has made much more orderly and better polling places and election-day customs have wonderfully improved.

It has greatly improved the interest of both men and women in the public affairs of the State and the municipalities.

It educates and broadens a woman's sphere of information, and makes her take a more intelligent interest in public affairs. It makes her more companionable, and consequently increases her intellectual standing, dignity, and influence.

It is a family bond and tie that binds the husband and wife together.

In 99 cases out of 100 the best and often the only political adviser a Colorado politician has is his wife. Any reasonable fair-minded person who has ever lived in Colorado six months knows that our women count for a great deal more, there is more attention paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment than there is or ever was in any State where they are denied the power that equal suffrage gives them.

Some one has said that in our political conventions a few women are as good as a whole squad of police. Our women are well advised; their judgment is good. Their opinions are entitled to and nearly

always receive due respect. It is true that more or less political chicanery always has, and probably always will, exist among some politicians in the State, not because of, but in spite of woman suffrage. Just the same as crime exists, not because of criminal laws, but in spite of them.

At this fall's election there will be nearly a million women cast their vote upon whom shall be the next President of the United States, and their influence will determine which way will be cast the 37 electoral votes in the States of Colorado, California, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.

IT HAS TAKEN OUR SCHOOLS OUT OF POLITICS.

Equal suffrage has almost entirely taken our schools out of politics. One of our prominent educators recently said that there is more politics in school matters in any one block of any large city in this country than there is in the entire 104,000 square miles of Colorado soil.

The ballot is the woman's peaceable, orderly, and dignified assertion and effective execution of her judgment and will. All the old shopworn arguments against woman suffrage that I used to hear from my grandparents when I was a boy seem so ridiculous nowadays that they are a ludicrous curiosity to us people in Colorado. But those relics of feudalism seem to be still passing current back here in the East, in keeping up the ancient bugaboo against the best, the most intelligent, and most patriotic women on this planet asserting the God-given right of every human being of self-protection. And when the undisputable facts of many years of actual practical tests conclusively and overwhelmingly demonstrates the unqualified falsity of all those antiquated absurdities—demonstrate that they have become deliberate slanders on the women of this country—our opponents are now in desperation resorting to all kinds of misrepresentation as to the facts in our Western States. And what provokes us is that these slanderers very often, to use a slang expression, "get away" with their outrageous assertions because, at a distance of from two to three thousand miles away with no one to contradict them, their positive statements are partially accepted.

While the 150 good laws enacted through the efforts of our women speak many volumes of public records in their behalf, yet it is in the local city, town, and county politics that women exert the most direct influence. The nearer the home the greater the good; such is apparently the philosophy of her interest. Municipal government and school government at home are her special fort, and it would take many more volumes to enumerate the beneficial results of her moral and humane influence in municipal and educational affairs throughout the State.

The composite judgment of all the governors of the six equal-suffrage States is that women are more conscientious about the right of suffrage than men are. Women are much more careful about advising themselves concerning the personnel of the ticket than the men are; and she is fully capable of so marking her ticket as to express her individual choice, and that choice is always for the uplift of politics. No one need ever fear to trust to the women the welfare and good of the community, because their influence invari-

ably tends toward the betterment of our moral, political, and civic environments. Equal suffrage has accomplished all that anyone could reasonably expect, and much more.

Women everywhere being confessedly the most moral, the most sober portion of the American people, it is inconceivable to us how anyone can dred their influence in public life.

I believe the securing of universal franchise for the women of this country would be the greatest step in advancement that civilization has made in centuries. There never has been a good law enacted in the State of Colorado in the past 19 years that the women have not actively worked for.

The women of Colorado are more in favor of law and order and social morality than the men. The women on the various boards have brought about many beneficial reforms in our State institutions. No honest man need ever have any fear of the results of woman suffrage. With us, woman suffrage has long since ceased to be an experiment in any sense. It is well tried, thoroughly approved, and a permanent principle of our government. The woman vote is a great and never-failing foundation or background of moral support. Some one has said it is in their dynamic vital force for good that woman suffrage has made its greatest contribution to the public welfare. The good effect of the enfranchisement and the intelligent and public spirit of the women of Colorado is one of the greatest gains to the State and to themselves. Citizens, both men and women, with intelligence, public spirit, and morality that can withstand public temptations are what are most needed for the welfare of a community. Women are much more interested in public affairs than they used to be before they obtained the franchise, and our politicians now deal more earnestly with home and social questions. There is no place in the world where the women vote where they have suffered the slightest loss, either of dignity or domesticity.

Equal suffrage safeguards the home by scientific laws. But woman's influence has not only been felt in passing good laws, but very forcibly in the prevention of the passage of bad laws and in preventing the repeal or injurious amendment of many good laws. All women do not join in this work; in fact, a majority do not; but a large number do, and no large number of men, either organized or not, do join in such work. Individually, many men help.

Woman suffrage simply applies to the political sphere that principal of government that secures the best results in the domestic sphere, the mutual cooperation of men and women for the individual and general welfare. It is in the line of the general elevation of the race; it represents a higher civilization; it increases the power of those things that make for righteousness.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Women by the hundreds of thousands are voting in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, New Zealand, Australia, Finland, and Norway, in all of which she now has full equal rights. She is given municipal suffrage throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, and many of the English colonies, and I believe she now has practically full equal rights in Sweden, Iceland, and Denmark. In some of these countries the women have been voting for generations; and in all of those countries and States put together the opponents of woman suffrage have never thus far been able to find anything detrimental

to the cause of woman suffrage, or even find a corporal's guard of reputable men who would publicly say that it had produced any bad results. On the other hand, thousands of the most prominent and best men in all of those States and countries have repeatedly testified unqualifiedly to the good results of woman suffrage.

I will attempt, without giving the literal quotations, to give a synopsis of what hundreds of men and women have said in public speeches or put on record in addresses or articles in various magazines. They assert, in substance, that as a result of equal suffrage fewer politicians and more good citizens are elected to office; that women are the best citizens and can not be corrupted; that there is no bribery and no corruption of women's vote at any election; that no campaign orator in a stump speech ever dares to tell a story that is not clean; that no candidate dares cater to the immoral-woman vote; that no party dares nominate a candidate of known bad morals; and that every party in determining and selecting its candidates is compelled to and does select men against the character of whom the women can say nothing. They unite in saying that woman suffrage purifies the body politic; that the moral, educational, and humane legislation desired by women can be secured more easily if the women vote; that the ballot leads to fair treatment of women in public service; that it is the quickest, easiest, and most dignified and least conspicuous way of influencing public affairs; that the ballot is a great educator and that the women become more practical and more wise by using it; that instead of women's influence being lessened by the ballot, it is greatly increased; that in States where women vote there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls; that they have never known an instance where the use of the ballot has caused a woman to lose her womanliness, or neglect her home or her family; that there is no just cause or basis for political inequality between men and women; and that, tested by actual experience, equal suffrage means better laws, better candidates, better government, and consequently a better society.

Gov. John F. Shafroth, of Colorado, says:

> Women's presence in politics has introduced an independent element which compels better nominations. It has been a great success in Colorado. Women will always be found upon the moral side of every question. It can not be that our mothers, sisters, and wives would have anything but an elevating influence on government.

Gov. Joseph M. Carey, of Wyoming, has issued a public statement within the last 30 days, in which he says:

> Woman [in Wyoming] exercises her right to vote and hold office as a matter of course. I am satisfied that women's influence in political matters has been good. I know it has been a great advantage to women, as girls in schools and in young womanhood make preparations to hold positions of responsibility in civil as well as in official life. Not 2 per cent of the voters would deprive woman of her rights in this State. Within the last few years I have been more strongly impressed that it is right that women should vote and hold office because of the fact that many women have come into very important and responsible positions.

Ex-Gov. Hunt, of Idaho, says:

> The woman vote has compelled not only State conventions but, more particularly, county conventions of both parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office.

Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver, says:

One of the greatest advantages of woman suffrage is the fear on the part of the machine politician to name men of immoral character. While many bad men have been elected in spite of woman suffrage, they have not been elected because of woman suffrage. If the women alone had a vote, it would result in a class of men in public office whose character for morality, honesty, and courage would be of a much higher order.

He further says:

We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children. These laws, in my opinion, would not exist at this time if it were not for the powerful influence of woman suffrage.

He also states that the juvenile court in the city of Denver would not be in existence, and that even if it was, he would not be its judge if it had not been for the woman vote. Both party organizations were against him.

It is universally conceded among all those who are in position to know that equal suffrage has raised new standards of public service, of political morality, and of official honesty.

Before the franchise was granted, women's property rights in Colorado had all been fairly well secured, and since that time the last discrimination has been removed; so that with respect to property, women are on a basis of perfect equality with men.

The splendid record of equal suffrage in Colorado for nearly 20 years is not only utterly ignored by the antisuffragists, but is brazenly denied. Defiantly disregarding all facts and figures, prejudiced scribblers have rushed roughshod over honor, honesty, and decency in a desperate effort to secure something for their muckraking magazine that could be distorted into a showing or pretense that equal suffrage has proven a failure in Colorado. Only the people of the State can fully appreciate the infamous extremes to which irresponsible falsity and scurrility have been carried by venal writers and speakers. The facts from which the true value of equal suffrage can be argued with mathematical certainty are easily obtainable. The ordinary honest man is not vicious in his opposition to equal suffrage. Some writer has said that with him it is more a matter of sex antagonism, or a survival of the feudal instinct. While there are undoubtedly many reputable men in Colorado and also quite a number of good women who are still opposed to woman suffrage, certainly no man or woman would ever dare advance the so-called arguments that are in vogue in the East. Everyone in our State knows that the Colorado women have grown in strength and efficiency without the loss of the essential womanliness or sacrifice of any valuable traits.

SAMPLE ARGUMENTS AGAINST EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

I have seen in print many times and heard reiterated a statement from one of our early-day judges, who was appointed, I believe, by Abraham Lincoln, and belongs to that generation; and also a statement of an estimable lady—I do mean to infer that she belongs to a former generation—expressing opposition to woman suffrage. And those statements are in the hearings before the Judiciary Com-

mittee now. I make no reference to either of them, but will call attention to a trait of human nature. We have all noticed small children, especially some of them who are raised wth a silver spoon, humored too much, and are badly spoiled and headstrong, who, if they can not always have things all their own way, will not play. Everybody can not be elected or even nominated to office and everybody can not dictate who shall be nominated or what officials shall do after they are elected.

Women, especially during the past few years, since they have become thoroughly well qualified, use their judgment very discriminately and wisely in the selection of candidates. The result is that the women vote has been the means of defeating a great many men and some women who had political aspirations in our State; and while many defeated candidates and thwarted politicians have been good losers, some of them have not. And after every convention and every campaign there are a few people who are thoroughly convinced that woman suffrage is an ignominious failure, and the way they conclusively prove it is by admitting it in the eastern papers. Of course, that may be convincing to some people, but it hardly is to thinking people. And yet any disgruntled politician or disappointed candidate or woman, whose pride has been piqued, can give out a statement and it will be eagerly seized upon by the opposition press of the whole United States and heralded from one end of the country to the other. The only surprising thing to me about it is that in 19 years the antisuffragists never seem to have but once been able to get any statement of that kind, which was done a few years ago and published in a rabid antisuffragist periodical and is being repeated ever since and put in the hearings again, here, now.

It is a maxim in war and politics, and we sometimes follow it in the House of Representatives, namely, learn what your adversary wants and then do the other thing. Every vicious interest in the country would a thousand times rather continue to contend with women's "indirect influence" than try to cope with women vote.

A fellow that is no good can usually inveigle some good girl into marrying him, but he can not fool the entire female population, and when he runs for office they will quickly size him up and, in the language of the street, hand him what is coming to him.

PRODUCES BETTER NOMINATIONS.

Women always inquire about the character of candidates. Everyone knows that neither party loyalty nor any other influence can prevent the great majority of women from scratching her ticket for good nominees as against bad ones. The result is, there is not a State in the Union where the moral character of all the nominees of all leading parties and their standing as good citizens in the community is any higher, if it is as high, as it is in Colorado. It makes no difference how much electioneering there may be done in behalf of the party nominees, when a woman goes into the booth and pulls the curtain behind her and is left alone with the ballot containing 50 to 75 names, she remembers having gone over a sample of that ballot before she went in there, and she knows the men on there who she is going to scratch and who she is going to vote for. And while she usually begins by writing the party name at the top of the ballot,

the same as her husband would do, she does not stop there. She goes down the line with her pen, and when she stops she has voted what she believes is a good, clean ticket. I think one of the greatest benefits that has come to Colorado, and will unquestionably come to any State as the result of woman suffrage, is the fact that is universally recognized, and which no honest man who knows what he is talking about will deny, that woman suffrage has brought about a better class of nominations for all offices. They are always specially concerned about local offices. They always know, or know of, the candidates and vote with the greatest discrimination on county and city offices. The two parties being so nearly evenly divided in Colorado, it makes it imperatively necessary for both parties to nominate the best men they can possibly select in order to secure their election.

During a campaign in Colorado the women always quietly try to learn the character of the nominees on each ticket. The questions uppermost in their minds about a candidate are, Is he a good man? Is he good to his family? What are the influences behind him, and what are his business associates and moral surroundings? What kind of an official will he make?

Political meetings in Colorado are nearly as largely attended by women as by men. Considering their opportunity to go to meetings, the attendance of women is larger in proportion than the men. My wife is not only the best but in fact the only political advisor I ever had; and every successful public official in Colorado, if he tells the truth, would make this same confession.

Hon. Robert W. Speer, mayor of Denver, says:

Woman suffrage has been an important factor for morality and better government in this State.

One hundred mayors of the cities and towns of Colorado and the governor and nearly all the State officials issued a public statement sometime ago in which they officially asserted most positively that woman suffrage has placed better men in office than under the old masculine rule; that a man must now possess a good moral character to gain a position within the gift of the people; that anyone who wants good government ought to be in favor of women suffrage; and that our women take as much interest in elections as the men and exercise their right of citizenship with equal if not better intelligence than the men. As a good mother purifies the home, so her influence purifies society and politics.

Women are instinctively and invariably opposed to all evils that threaten the home or the Nation. Women's public life is under a microscope. The occasional faults or foibles of some of them are eagerly seized upon and exaggerated by adverse critics as fair examples of the character and conduct of the entire sex. A few featherheaded and erratic individuals may be found everywhere and in both sexes. But common sense will ultimately prevail and these biased and wanton criticisms will pass and the place thereof will know them no more forever.

COLORADO IS SATISFIED WITH EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

Light usually comes from the east, but in this case it is coming from the west. The logic of a progressive civilization leads inevitably to equal suffrage. Any assertion that equal suffrage does not work

well where it has been tried is either based upon inexcusable ignorance or actual dishonesty. A proposition to revoke the right of equal suffrage in our State would be overwhelmingly defeated by the men themselves. I believe at least 85 or 90 per cent of the men and fully 95 per cent of the women would vote against it. In fact, there is no talk of repealing it. There is no discussion about the matter in that way, except from other States. We accept universal suffrage in Colorado as final. We would no more think of attempting to deprive the women of the right to vote than we would of surrendering our State charter and reverting to Territorial days. The principles of the equal rights of women is irrevocably determined. Woman suffrage will not make a human paradise of society in a day, or in 20 years. But it will and has helped marvelously to make human society more human and make of this country a true democracy, which is neither a class government nor a sex government, but a government of all the people, for all the people, and by all the people.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE IS SOON COMING IN EVERY CIVILIZED NATION.

It is the great question of the age. The world is loath to accept new ideas. Custom has always been a tyrant on the minds of men. Reforms have always been viewed with suspicion. A determined attitude of resistance to change may be classed almost with the instincts of the race. Some one has said that there has never been a new doctrine promulgated in all history that has not met with bitter resistance, and that it is a safe general proposition that any conduct widely at variance with an established custom will first be regarded as immoral, immodest, or at least unbecoming. These characteristics of the race constitute one of the basic reasons for the hostile attitude of society on the question of woman suffrage. It is custom and not reason that women have always had to face in their fight for the ballot. Sneers and misrepresentation will even overcome the command, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." But the greatest intellects of the human race have from the beginning of civilization to the present time acknowledged that naturally women are intellectually our equal and morally our superior and that they are entitled to all the rights that men enjoy. It has been the partisan, the prejudice, the bias and smaller minds that have always desperately opposed any advance of womenhood. I sometimes wonder if some of these individuals do not harbor a shrinking consciousness of not being equal to compete with, or willing to face the result of fair treatment to women. I can not resist having a lingering suspicion that the actions of some men are a tacit confession of fear of the risk to which it would subject their imagined superiority. Practically every broad-gauged statesman of the world has denied that any portion of the human species has a right to prescribe to any other portion its sphere, its education, or its rights. The sphere of every man and woman is that sphere which he or she can perfectly fill. No opportunity should ever in this country be closed to any human being who has the capacity to work therein. It is a disgrace to this country and to this enlightened century to longer disfranchise the patriotic and intelligent womanhood of this Republic. There never was a time in the history of the world when the mass of women was so intelligent, so

right living and public spirited. The world has never enfranchised as patriotic a class of people as the American women are to-day. Patriotism is not confined to the male sex. Let us be big enough, broad minded enough, humane enough, and honest enough to treat the women of our country as fairly as they are being treated. Let us show to the world that we believe in the Declaration of Independence. Let us evolve our male oligarchy into a twentieth century democracy.

ARCHÆAN OBJECTIONS.

In referring to the arguments of the opposition to equal rights in this country, an eloquent Senator once said:

> We find only the same ancient footprints, the same things that satisfied men thousands of years ago and which never did satisfy any woman that we know of.

Wendell Phillips, in October, 1851, in his eloquent and celebrated lecture, answered all of the arguments against woman suffrage that I have ever heard of, and time has conclusively corroborated the correctness of what he said.

All the old objections have been swept into oblivion by modern experiences, and people who repeat them are mostly inexcusably ignorant or merely obstinate. Specious objections, sneers, and coarse laughter are no longer arguments. But unfortunately in no society has life ever been completely controlled by reason, but mainly by instinct, habits, and customs growing out of it. The race has suffered much through the tyranny of prejudice. The human family has been burdened during all the ages by common prejudice and much ignorance. Many people do not keep pace with the movement of the world about them.

St. Paul's command that women be in subjection, keep silent, and learn wisdom from their husbands has long since lost its authority. The old assertion that women should not vote because they haven't as much brains as the men was accepted as a conclusive argument for some time after the stone age, but people do not waste much time considering it now. In fact, the human race has developed too much at the present time to countenance dilettante speculation and nice theories about women's sphere and the female intellect and the duties of wife and mother, which are contrary to everyday common sense.

It is probably a waste of time to argue against prejudices that are unreasonable and can not be reasoned down. Some people will harbor their biased and prejudiced notions until they cross the great divide. The woman's success in all the fields in which she has been allowed to enter constitute a solid phalanx of thousands of undisputable facts, which demonstrate her capacity and merit, and we must appeal to the reasoning and thinking people to determine this question. Jane Addams and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, and thousands of other noble women, who have for nearly a lifetime been working in this splendid fight for womanhood and humanity, are entitled to the encouragement of our commendation and active support, I glory in the fact that they have enough zeal and patriotism to trample under foot the sneers of some of the members of both sexes, and to carry on their magnificent work to victory.

Some one has said in substance that theories are thin and unsubstantial air against the solid facts of women mingling with honor and profit in the various professions and industrial pursuits of life.

When I think of the 7,000,000 wage-earning women and girls in this country, I often wish I had the time to write an encyclopedia of equal suffrage. I would give it the title "Seven Million Reasons for the Enfranchisement of Women." In view of my actual experience and personal knowledge of the effect of woman suffrage, I have never yet seen or heard an argument against woman suffrage that had in it what seemed to me any justice or common sense. To us men of Colorado, man's prejudice against the woman's vote is incomprehensible. But when we think of it, we realize that it is due partially to lack of information of the revolution, the actual scheme of civilized life, and to the changed conditions of the present day, and also to a more or less inherited masculine repugnance to women having any public capacity or recognition whatever. While in one sense that sentiment of men may be called chivalrous, yet, in another sense it is extremely selfish. It is not chivalrous nor even honest to be willing to permit a woman for ever to do exactly the same labor as a man, and only receive from one-third to one-half of the pay for it.

Did you ever stop to think that none of the antisuffragists have ever come out to the States where we have equal suffrage and endeavored to show our women and men the error of their way? There is a very good reason why they never do. The archæan objections and mediæval arguments that they are still using in other parts of the country have been so conclusively discredited and shown by our actual experience to be ridiculous, that no one in our country would listen to them for a moment. We do not mean to be discourteous to anyone.

Everyone has a right to his or her own opinion, but when objections are diametrically opposed to what we know are the facts and are everyday common experiences we can not resist looking upon people who shut their eyes to these conditions as mental relics of former generations. In future years we will look back and marvel at the supreme effrontery of the male population arrogating to themselves all the wisdom, honesty, and patriotism for so many generations after generations. Posterity will be amazed when it reads the history of the many centuries that women were disfranchised.

THE POWER OF THE BALLOT.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, says:

> I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice.

Jane Addams says that her strongest reason for wishing women to vote is because she has seen and deplored the unfortunate effect upon the character of women of the indirect method of persuasion and cajolery which their present voteless condition compels them to use in their rarely successful endeavor to secure the legislation of which they and their children are so sorely in need. For their own sake women must vote.

Ex-Gov. Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado, says:

> To the bread-winning portion of the female sex the ballot is a boon. She is a factor whose power must be respected. Like her brother, she must be reckoned with at the polls. Hence it is her buckler against industrial wrongs.

her protection against the constant tendency to reduce her wages because of helplessness. If no other reason existed for conferring this right upon womankind, this, to the man of justice, should be all sufficient. Whoever accepts the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence must believe in the right of woman to vote.

Without quoting further extracts I will give a brief symposium of a collection of articles by various writers and a synopsis of many speeches that accord with my judgment and experience upon this subject.

Our Government is controlled by politics and politics are controlled by the ballot. While indirect influence has accomplished a great deal, nevertheless we know that it is a wholly inadequate substitute for the actual power of the ballot. Legislators and public officials everywhere give very little heed to any demands that are not backed by the ballot. When the women are enfranchised they not only have a voice in the making of the laws, but they are in a position to enforce them. They can make or unmake the officials who refuse to perform their duty. We in Colorado know that it is simply absurd to assert that women who vote can not get what they wish much more easier and in a far more dignified way than the women who do not vote.

We all remember that about a year ago an Italian woman, Angelino Napoletino, was sentenced to be hung in Canada for having killed her husband after much brutal treatment from him, including an attempt to compel her to become a white slave. Owing to the aroused public sentiment throughout the United States and Canada, her sentence was finally commuted to imprisonment for life.

In Leadville, Colo., within the past year, a woman was arrested for identically the same crime and under almost exactly the same circumstances. She was poor, ignorant, and tremulous. In her cell she wondered to herself whether the authorities would hang her then or wait until her babe was born. When her case was called in court, the district attorney arose and said: "The public sentiment of Colorado will not condone me in prosecuting a woman under such circumstances"; and she went free. We have capital punishment in Colorado, only applicable, however, to the most heinous cases. But the conscience of the State would not permit the hanging or even the imprisonment of a woman for killing her husband in defending her own life and honor.

The first right the first woman on this earth started to secure was the right to know, and she has been working for thousands of years for the right to learn and work, and she is now seeking the right to control her own property, her own mind, and her own welfare. Her long years of struggle for equal rights is now culminating in a world-wide demand for equal suffrage for women, because there are no rights either natural, social, or individual that can be permanently maintained either politically or in the courts at law save by the possession of political rights.

The good women of Massachusetts, in 1902, after earnestly working for 55 years, succeeded in getting a law making mothers equally with the fathers the guardians of their minor children. The women of Colorado passed that bill in less than 55 days after the convening of the first legislature after they were given the right of franchise. After a half century of earnest effort by "indirect influence" only 15 out of the 48 States have granted that right to the mothers. In

33 States a father can to-day give away his children, even an unborn babe, and the mother is helpless.

The good women of Illinois appealed to their legislature for nine successive years before they succeeded in securing a State industrial school for girls. Senate bill No. 1, in the first legislature that met in Colorado after the enfranchisement of women, provided for the establishment of a home for dependent children. The women shot that bill through the legislature, the home was built, and in less than six months the State was mothering her motherless children.

Women are not only learning what their natural legal rights are, but they are learning that the only way to secure them is by the proper, frank, and direct way, not by trying to influence somebody else.

They are learning that citizenship is a pearl of great price, and, like other pearls, it must be worn and come in contact with human lives if it retains its luster.

The voting women of the Mountain States have with splendid patriotism to the country and with a loyalty to their sex that is worthy of the highest commendation throughout this land pledged themselves to never cease working for the adoption of woman suffrage until every woman from sea to sea and from the Gulf to Canada enjoys the blessings of political equality in the same degree that they do. They refuse to be content with their own freedom so long as their sisters are in bondage. They look forward confidently to the day when all women "shall be enthroned upon justice and equal opportunity and shall taste the fruits of that genuine fraternity which gives to all humanity the power of self-expression."

There is no foundation, in fact, whatever for the assertion that women can not compel the enforcement of the laws. No trouble of this kind has resulted from equal suffrage in practice. The laws are fully as well enforced in the enfranchised States as in adjoining States where women have no vote. Where women have the full ballot they have often defeated bad candidates for higher offices, but no riotous uprising has ever followed. In fact, the suggestion that a law which was supported by a majority of the women and duly enacted would not be enforced is a libel on American manhood.

The International Congress on Child Welfare and the National Congress of Mothers meet here every year. Those noble women are doing a splendid philanthropic and humanitarian work for the proper care and civic uplift of our youth. But just think what a power for good to our race all those good ladies would be if they had the right of citizenship. Their work would be one hundred times as efficient. If they and their sisters could vote, you can stake your life on the proposition that the politicians from Maine to California would sit up and take notice. We would have at least one woman juvenile court judge in every large city, and thousands of other reforms that would be for the betterment of the race. They would get their laws enacted by Congress and by every State in this Union, and they would get them now, not after most of these noble women have gone with a discouraged heart to their final reward.

In spite of politicians and political machines, organized bodies of women are constantly securing measures for the aleviation of wrongs and for the bettering of social conditions. Women have just as much at stake in the Government as men have, and they share equally

in the benefits of a good and suffer equally the evil consequence of bad government. They feel as never before their responsibility concerning sanitation of cities, conditions of streets, schools, labor, wages, charities, reforms, and every question which relates to the welfare of the people; and they realize as never before how powerless they are without the ballot.

The right to vote commands recognition from all political parties and representatives, which nonvoters never receive.

We will never obtain our highest ideals of citizenship until free men and free women work together for the establishment of the highest human justice.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE PROTECTS LABORING WOMEN.

The status of women in this country has been and is now passing through a marvelous transformation. It is only a few years since it would have been looked upon as almost disreputable for a woman to work in a store or as a clerk in an office. That situation has entirely changed. If our social conditions could be perfectly ideal; if every girl when she reaches the age of discretion could be happily married to some man who would support her as he should and properly care for the family, the question of woman suffrage would be of much less concern. But to-day one-fifth of all the women of this country are compelled to earn their own living by their daily labor. Nearly 7,000,000 women are wage earners to-day, and the number is constantly increasing. Woman suffrage is not responsible for bringing about that condition. It is the economic change that is going on in the life of this Republic. If the right to vote was taken away from the laboring men of this country to-morrow, they would within one year, and in many places within one week, be reduced to a condition of practical slavery; and it is little less than inhuman to compel the 7,000,000 women to work in this country under conditions that would be absolutely intolerable for men. I look upon this as a matter of common humanity. No class of human beings can compel, or will ever secure fair treatment either in the courts or any other place unless that class is given the power of the ballot. If the right of franchise is as important almost as life and death to men, why is it not equally important to women? If the laboring man's vote can enforce fair treatment, labor legislation, and decent rules, at least comparatively so, why would not it produce the same effect in the hands of women? It certainly appears to me that every fair-minded man in this country, every man who is in favor of a square deal and of fair treatment to his fellowman, and especially to the womanhood of the country, ought to heartily join in giving the women this right. If any of them do not want to exercise it, they need not do so. They are like children who do not want to go to school. They usually grow up to appreciate the importance of it, and these good ladies will reach that stage some day. There will be enough of them who do need the ballot and will honestly exercise it to creditably represent all of them.

Every adult who is not an idiot or a criminal is entitled to representation in his own government affairs.

Woman suffrage is a necessity, both from a political and economical standpoint. A nation can not long exist that tolerates conditions

that discourage marriage and prevent the possibility of motherhood.

The low pay and hard conditions of working women are largely due to their disfranchisement. With the ballot the women who do exactly the same work as the men will enforce the same pay. She can not possibly protect her interests as a wage earner without the ballot. I appeal for the 7,000,000 working women of this country. I can not resist feeling that it is a crime against humanity to deprive them of the right to protect themselves, which they can only do by the ballot. She is forced to compete in the labor market with those who have full political rights, while she herself is a political nonentity. Extend the horizon of her life and the protection of her purity and the conservation of her virtue and her motherhood. All that the ballot is to man it is and will be that and even more to women. Work should be paid for not according to the sex of the worker but on the merits of the work. Where a woman is equally well equipped to do a certain kind of work, and does do it equally as well, she is entitled to the same rate of pay as a man. But she doesn't get it, because she can not compel it.

Women claim the ballot as their inherent right, and they use it in the line of their duty as good citizens for the enforcement of the laws and the protection of society. Frances Willard once said that the best thing in the nineteenth century was woman's discovery of herself. One of the best things thus far in the twentieth century is woman's discovery of her duty to help others.

It is not logical or any reason to refuse the franchise to all women because some women do not recognize the duty of voting. The women who so much need the right to vote do not desire to compel their sisters to vote. The good ladies who oppose woman suffrage do not desire to perform the duty they owe to society of expressing their opinion by marking a ballot. They need not do so. But I deny that they have any right to try to prevent their sisters from securing the right to protect themselves and perform their obligations to humanity.

The most important subject, in fact, the greatest problem, before humanity to-day is—

THE CONSERVATION OF THE HUMAN RACE.

The conservation of motherhood and childhood. Where married women are forced to work in factories the birth rate decreases and the death rate of children increases alarmingly. Many kinds of work as now performed by women is injurious, and the demand for more protective legislation for women workers is constantly increasing. The handicap against woman is too great for her to bear. Women are now compelled to work under conditions that ruin her nervous system, undermines her strength, and unfits her for the duties of marriage and motherhood. The result is it discourages marriage, which is unquestionably an alarming evil. Women are compelled to undercut wages.

No man is free unless he has the fullest rights of citizenship, independent of all imitations. The right to vote is the highest test of liberty.

If men were superhuman the interests of women might be sufficiently represented by men, and the horrors of the sweatshops would be largely if not entirely removed.

The late Hon. Carroll D. Wright, while still National Commissioner of Labor, said:

> The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum.

Thousands of women are to-day working at starvation wages, and the conditions of women's work are getting steadily worse instead of better as the number of women workers increases. Anyone who will study the recent investigations of women's work and wages will painfully realize that working women, even in the United States, where there are fewer women and more favorable conditions for women workers than anywhere else in the world, except Australia, need all the help the ballot will give them. In fact, women even more than man need the ballot to protect their special interests and right to earn a living.

The experience of all history goes to prove that a disfranchised class can not protect its liberty. It is not a theory, but a condition that confronts us. These millions of women must be permitted to earn their living in an honorable way. To my mind one of the strongest reasons for granting women the right of suffrage is the imperative necessity of her having that power to protect herself in the conditions under which she must work. The need of work is so great and the number of women that must be self-supporting is so large that the employers have been at liberty to dictate their own terms to the workers without regard to whether the wage offered is a living wage. If it is right that we should regulate child labor it is equally right that we should regulate the conditions surrounding women in industry.

While I have never given the subject any extended study, yet my impression is that there ought to be established in this country a minimum wage commission to consider this subject. They have provisions of that kind in other countries and they have apparently worked with great success. It would seem as though the soul of any fair-minded person would be moved to see the virtue of unhappy women exposed to the terrible kind of modern commercial life and subjected by hopeless poverty to the heartless demands of vice. With the ballot the economic condition of women will advance and the chance to live clean and happy lives will be greatly improved. The granting of the ballot to women is along the line of higher development of our humanity. To-day women are now engaged in 300 different kinds of industries.

300 REASONS FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

I am not willing to longer sacrifice the virtue and health of the girlhood of this country upon the altar of an unreasonable prejudice. Women are ground down by the competition of their sisters to the very point of starvation. To my mind, the political enfranchisement of women is absolutely essential to the economic independence of the working classes, and it has become the world-wide issue of immediate and vital importance to the very existence of democracy.

The wage-earning woman or girl to-day has absolutely no chance beside her brother, simply because she is not a recognized citizen by virtue of the ballot. I coincide with the humane belief that it is brutal and inhuman to force a woman to compete with those who have

full political rights while she herself is a political nonenity. All working men and all men of every class regard the ballot as their greatest protection against the oppression and injustice of other men. It is only necessary to ask ourselves what would be the fate of any political party whose platform contained a plank depriving laboring men of the right to vote. No woman on this earth can be engaged in a higher or nobler or more humane work than in making an earnest and persistent fight for the right of her weaker and less fortunate sisters, who, through poverty and oppression and incessant toil, have no power to fight for themselves. It has always seemed to me to be a strange trait of human nature that anyone should strive so hard to prevent others from acquiring rights which they so much need, because, forsooth, he does not need them. Because I am well fed and well clothed is no reason why I should try to prevent others from enjoying the same.

ADDITIONAL "ARGUMENTS" AGAINST EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

I observe that one of the ladies who acts as the official representative of an organization opposed to woman suffrage has just presented an argument to the Judiciary Committee against my pending constitutional amendment for equal suffrage. I will only refer to one of the grounds of objections which she presents, viz, "Because the suffrage is not a question of a right, or of justice, but of policy and expediency; and if there is no question of right or justice, there is no cause for woman suffrage." I had supposed that people had ceased to dispute—

THE ABSTRACT OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

Natural justice is all on the side of women. If all people should take part in government, if women are people, if mankind are and of right ought to be free and equal in the sense that they are equally "entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; if all human beings are equally entitled to protection before the law; if, as Lincoln said, "No man is good enough to govern another without that other man's consent"; if "taxation without representation is tyranny"; if our Government is founded upon the doctrine of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none"; in other words, if we believe in the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, surely no class of human beings has a right to the exclusive usurpation of these powers and rights, and these universal principles of eternal right can not be justly denied to any intelligent human being merely on account of sex.

President Lincoln also said that "This Nation can not exist half slave and half free." In a republic the ballot is the citizen's right, and in the United States women are arbitrarily deprived of this right. I look upon the recognition of women as citizens as being an act of simple justice; and I can not appreciate either the logic, common sense, or honesty of refusing to grant an act of simple justice to women merely because they are women. The present civilization will not much longer permit the physically stronger half of the human race to ignore the plain rights of the physically weaker half. The reasons why women should vote are the same as why men should vote, the same as the reasons for having a republic rather than a

monarchy. A noted speaker has eloquently said that we can not play fast and loose with the eternal principles of justice without being sooner or later caught in the net of our own weaving. Women are one-half of the human race. Why should they be born, educated, married, divorced, and buried under laws made exclusively by men? Why should laws regulating women's labor, women's taxation, women's guardianship of their own children, women's power of will, be enacted without the consultation of women? Why should women and their children eat impure food, drink poisoned water, catch diseases, and live under immoral and degrading conditions over which they have no control?

The natural right of a woman to vote is just as clear as that of a man, and rests upon exactly the same ground. The woman-right movement is a feminist revolution. Women should vote because they are women. To have a voice in choosing those by whom one is governed is a means of self-protection due to everyone. Democracy is not a matter of sex, any more than it is a matter of race. The disfranchisement of women is a brutal usurpation of power, a relic of primitive barbarity when might made right, which has become unworthy of a chivalrous modern manhood.

Another assertion made by the opponents is a denial that—

WOMEN WANT EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

At the time we submitted the question of equal suffrage in Colorado there were a great many women—in fact, a large per cent of the women—who were indifferent. The large number of newspapers and men and women who have been engaged for a half century in ridiculing and slurring the advocates of woman suffrage has necessarily had an important effect upon opinions of many women. But, notwithstanding the terrific power of ridicule and the effect of a great many so-called arguments and objections that we in Colorado know are absolutely ridiculous, the cause of woman suffrage is making the most marvelous progress of any reform movement in this Nation. It has made more progress throughout this country during the past 5 years than it made in the 50 years preceding that, in the general awakening of the country to the justice, and in fact, the necessity of giving the women of this country the right to participate in the making and enforcing of our laws, and in determining who their public officials shall be. As intelligent and thinking human beings, as an equal half of this human race, with the same patriotic desires for good government, with really more at stake and a greater interest in the welfare of society than the male half of humanity has, it is inconceivable to me and utterly illogical and contrary to nature to assume that the women are unwilling to be granted the permission, if they desire to exercise it, of having a voice in the civic affairs of our common country.

The best and most conclusive answer is that in every State where women have been given the ballot they actually do vote at every general election in as large a proportion to their numbers as the men. That ought to be sufficient answer, no matter what they may have thought before the right was acknowledged. Equal suffrage can no more be prevented from extending to every State in this Union than you can stop the progress of humanity or prevent the ultimate survival of the principles of right and justice.

Ordinarily the light comes from the East, but in the matter of the enfranchisement of the best half of humanity, I am proud to say, the light is coming from the West. Eastward the woman's star of empire takes its way!

There is no more possibility of the right of equal suffrage being taken from the women of Colorado or any other State that has tried it than there is of returning to Negro slavery in this country. One is just exactly as likely as the other. The human race is not going backward. No member of our legislature could ever even get a bill printed, much less considered, that would attempt to take this right away from women, and any assertions to the contrary are utterly and totally without foundation.

MORMON INFLUENCE IN COLORADO.

About the most infamous misrepresentation that I have seen in the press and heard, and which is being heralded broadcast and reiterated all over three-fourths of the United States as an argument against equal suffrage, is the statement that the Mormons hold the balance of power and control the politics of Colorado.

I venture the assertion that there is not one individual out of the 800,000 population of Colorado who is old enough to know anything but what will brand that statement as a malicious falsehood.

I have understood that there is one small settlement in southwestern Colorado that is composed principally of Mormons. They are good citizens and do not take any interest whatever that I ever heard of in the politics of the State, or even in that county. Of course there may be a few Mormons scattered over the State, but actually I am not aware that I am personally acquainted with a Mormon in the State, and my home county joins the State of Utah, and I have known the people of western Colorado for over 30 years, and as well probably as any other man. I have never in my life heard, until I came east, that there was any such thing as a Mormon vote in Colorado, or that they cut any figure whatever in politics. I only mention it to show the absurdity and utterly unwarranted viciousness of this attack against woman suffrage by appealing to the public resentment and hostility against polygamy.

In the State of Utah the Mormons are and always have been in an overwhelming majority. They control the politics, not by reason of equal suffrage—that has nothing to do with it—but because they are in the majority. The chances are that if an overwhelming majority of the people of any State were Methodists, or Christian Scientists, or Catholic, or Baptist, or any other particular denomination or nationality that that denomination or nationality having an undisputed majority of all the votes would naturally control the politics and the offices.

But it is outrageous to try to invoke the public enmity against polygamy as an argument against equal suffrage. If there is anything under heaven that would prevent polygamy from spreading, it would be the granting of equal suffrage. No denomination or nationality or individual class ever has or ever will dominate the politics of Colorado.

WOMEN AND PROHIBITION.

The opponents of equal suffrage make another charge against Colorado that is almost as unfair as the charge of Mormonism in our politics. Wherever the prohibition sentiment is strong they loudly proclaim that Colorado is "a black spot on the prohibition map." I can not say as to whether Colorado is painted black on anybody's map, but I do know that the women of Colorado are entitled to the thanks and appreciation and moral support of the temperance people throughout this Nation.

In considering the condition of any people or State or city one must look to their surrounding circumstances and local conditions; Colorado is popularly known as the summer playground of the Nation. It is one of the greatest resort places in the world and is becoming more and more of a tourist resort State ever year. Owing to the cool nights and delightful summer climate hundreds of thousands of people from all over the world come there every year, and especially in the summer time. A very large per cent of them are people who are in the habit of using liquor in moderate quantities, and while the liquor trade is only a comparatively small item, yet the revenue derived from the tourists business every year is an enormous sum. In fact, Colorado's scenery and climate is one of our chief assets and will be worth billions of dollars to her in the future. Those tourists expect to be able to use liquor in a moderate way the same as they do in every resort place throughout the world. The result is that the public sentiment of the State, I believe, does not favor absolute prohibition in Colorado, and possibly it may not do so for many years to come. But when we consider the conditions in Colorado now and what they were before equal suffrage was adopted, we have an opportunity of seeing the very great beneficial effect of the ballot in the hands of the women. At the time woman suffrage was adopted, as I recall it, there were only three towns in the State that prohibited the sale of liquor, and there was practically no other dry territory in the State. Saloons generally were open all night and Sundays and gambling of every kind was wide open; not in every place, but quite generally throughout the State, and there was comparatively little restriction upon the sporting fraternity.

Colorado was, and in fact still is, a frontier State. It is an old saying that timid people never started West, and the weak died on the way. Colorado's population has always been liberal in their views, and the result was that the public sentiment and the conditions that the women had to cope with were a great deal different from what they are in the older States. But after a long fight the women succeeded in compelling the passage of a good local option law, and the public sentiment of the State to-day approves of it. Under the operation of that law some 10 or 12 counties are now entirely dry; about 50 of the cities and towns are dry, and practically all the residence portions of all the cities and towns throughout the State are dry. The saloons are closed on Sunday and at 12 o'clock at night. We have high license and strict legislation, and the conduct and mangement of the saloons are orderly. In fact the great majority of the saloon people themselves are earnest in their efforts to comply with

the law. Of course, there is a perpertual contention between the saloon and the antisaloon sentiment. But no one can justly denounce women suffrage because it has not made Colorado a prohibition State.

The women and the Antisaloon League of California are entitled to the greatest credit for bringing about this moral and businesslike regulation of the liquor traffic in our State.

The statement published broadcast that "In Colorado after a test of 17 years the result shows no gain in public or political morals over male suffrage States," is simply an assertion that has no foundation in fact. It is on a par with other written statements presented to this committee as follows: "If it were to be done over again the people of Colorado would defeat woman suffrage by an overwhelming majority." "There women vote and take bribes for their votes just the same as men do." "A woman political boss is not an object of feminine charm, and politics in Colorado are in no way improved because women vote." "The women who would demand the full life for all women are not sincere. The full life is only desired by a small minority of middle class, mostly college and professional women, who see in political positions a release from the strain of competitive life."

I feel that if I performed my full duty to the good women of Colorado I would characterize those assertions in the language which they so richly deserve. But inasmuch as they are circulated and reiterated thousands of times by people who never saw the State of Colorado, and know nothing about it, I will only say that they are utterly and unqualifiedly without any foundation in fact, reason, or fairness, and are nothing less than reckless and wanton libels and slanders on our State that are totally inexcusable.

THE WOMAN'S MOTTO IS "ONWARD."

The women of Colorado will continue to vote! The women of the world will continue to advance! The man or woman who tries to stop them will be justly relegated to oblivion. You politicians had better remember those three statements, because you will have occasion to reflect upon them. This is an age of individual liberty, and the male sex is not humanity, but only half of it.

There will be no backward movement in the fight for equal rights. Not one foot of ground that has been gained will ever be surrendered. And the people who will try to make a little temporary notoriety by an attack on the sex are doomed in the end to disappointment, defeat, and ignominious humiliation. The continued disfranchisement of women is a relic of antiquity that belongs to other days. Purblind politicians and people who cling to prejudice in spite of facts as plain as the noonday sun may keep on fighting and misrepresenting the good women of the suffrage States, but they are coming to be as absurd as old Canute when he placed his throne on the beach and commanded the waves to recede.

The women of this Nation have little by little been taking more interest in public affairs, been reading more and becoming more intelligent and better posted, and each day is assisting a little more than the day before in solving the great problems that are to-day affecting the world. To say that she is going to take a backward step is to brand one's self as an imbecile. The 150 good laws that

have been placed upon the statute books of Colorado during the past 18 years are a living proof which no one can question that some mighty moral force has held the pen that has written those laws into the history of our State, and that hand is the woman's hand. To attempt to deny that would be the same as denying that Colorado has progressed since her admission into the Union.

In every civilized country on the globe the women are fighting for their rights. They are gradually winning everywhere. The day is soon coming when they will take the place belonging to them—squarely beside the men in the settlement of all public matters. It is a great moral reform.

There will never be any surrender of any of the rights she has secured. There will be no retreat sounded. Their slogan is "Forward, march." And the whole world will rejoice and be benefited when they achieve their ultimate victory.

For the purpose of accurately showing the progress that the principles of equal rights is making all over the civilized world I will extend my remarks by inserting a statement which has been carefully prepared by that indefatigable defender of equal rights, Alice Stone Blackwell:

GAINS IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

Eighty years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden, and in few other places in the old world.

Time.	Place.	Kind of suffrage.
1838	Kentucky	School suffrage to widows with children of school age.
1850	Ontario	School suffrage, women married and single.
1861	Kansas	School suffrage.
1867	New South Wales	Municipal suffrage.
1869	England	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
	Victoria	Municipal suffrage, married and single women.
	Wyoming	Full suffrage.
1871	West Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1875	Michigan	School suffrage.
	Minnesota	Do.
1876	Colorado	Do.
1877	New Zealand	Do.
1878	New Hampshire	Do.
	Oregon	Do.
1879	Massachusetts	Do.
1880	New York	Do.
	Vermont	Do.
	South Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1881	Scotland	Municipal suffrage to the single women and widows.
	Isle of Man	Parliamentary suffrage.
1883	Nebraska	School suffrage.
1884	Ontario	Municipal suffrage.
	Tasmania	Do.
1886	New Zealand	Do.
	New Brunswick	Do.
1887	Kansas	Do.
	Nova Scotia	Do.
	Manitoba	Do.
	North Dakota	School suffrage.
	South Dakota	Do.
	Montana	Do.
	Arizona	Do.
	New Jersey	Do.
	Montana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1888	England	County suffrage.
	British Columbia	Municipal suffrage.
	Northwest Territory	Do.
1889	Scotland	County suffrage.
	Province of Quebec	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
1891	Illinois	School suffrage.
1893	Connecticut	Do.
	Colorado	Full suffrage.
	New Zealand	Do.
1894	Ohio	School suffrage.
	Iowa	Bond suffrage.
	England	Parish and district suffrage, married and single women.

GAINS IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE—continued.

Time.	Place.	Kind of suffrage.
1895	South Australia	Full State suffrage.
1896	Utah	Full suffrage.
	Idaho	Do.
1898	Ireland	All offices except members of Parliament.
	Minnesota	Library trustees.
	Delaware	School suffrage to tax-paying women.
	France	Women engaged in commerce can vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce.
	Louisiana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1900	Wisconsin	School suffrage.
	West Australia	Full State suffrage.
1901	New York	Tax-paying suffrage; local taxation in all towns and village of the State.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage.
1902	Australia	Full suffrage.
	New South Wales	Full State suffrage.
1903	Kansas	Bond suffrage.
	Tasmania	Full State suffrage.
1905	Queensland	Do.
1906	Finland	Full suffrage; eligible to all offices.
1907	Norway	Full Parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage.
	Sweden	Eligible to municipal offices.
	Denmark	Can vote for members of boards of public charities, and serve on such boards.
	England	Eligible as mayors, aldermen, and county and town councillors.
	Oklahoma	New State continued school suffrage for women.
1908	Michigan	Tax-payers to vote on questions of local taxation and granting of franchises.
	Denmark	Women who are taxpayers, or wives of taxpayers, a vote for all officers except members of Parliament.
	Victoria	Full State suffrage.
1909	Belgium	Can vote for members of the counseils des prudhommes, and also eligible.
	Province of Voralberg (Austrian Tyrol).	Single women and widows paying taxes were given a vote.
	Ginter Park, Va	Tax-paying women, a vote on all municipal questions.
1910	Washington	Full suffrage.
	New Mexico	School suffrage.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage made universal. (Three-fifths of the women had it before.)
	Bosnia	Parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of real estate.
	Diet of the Crown Prince of Krain (Austria).	Suffrage to the women of its capital city, Laibach.
	India. (Gaekwar of Baroda).	Women of his dominions vote in municipal elections.
	Würtemberg, Kingdom of	Women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the chamber of agriculture; also eligible.
	New York	Women in all towns, villages, and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.
1911	California	Full suffrage.
	Honduras	Municipal su rage in capital city, Belize.
	Iceland	Parliamentary suffrage for women over 25 years.

REMARKS OF HON. A. W. LAFFERTY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OREGON.

Miss ADDAMS. The next speaker is also a Member of this House—Mr. Lafferty, from Oregon—who introduced a resolution providing for an amendment to the Constitution to take the place of the fifteenth amendment. I do not need to introduce Mr. Lafferty to the members of the committee.

Mr. LAFFERTY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I believe it is not only practicable but that it would be profitable to the United States to extend equal suffrage to men and women. This is the first time I have ever had the pleasure of hearing a speech in favor of equal suffrage, and this is the first time I have ever attempted to make a speech along those lines myself. But it seems to me that we have had here, this morning, a practical demonstration of the ability of the women of this country to participate intelli-

gently in the discussion of public questions. I do not think that we could make a mistake, as a Republic, in placing the ballot in the hand that rocks the cradle. So far as I am concerned, and having only the best interests of this Republic at heart, I believe it would be a good thing if 50 of the best mothers of this country were in the House of Representatives to-day. [Applause.] I wish that at least 25 of the sainted mothers of the United States were in the Senate to-day. [Applause.]

I hope this statement does not sound strange to you.

You should consider, as lawyers and as statesmen and as historians, as I know you to be, that in the history of the civilized world in monarchies the women have participated in the Government; it is a shame that in a Republic like ours, the best form of government that has ever yet been established, women can not, under the present law, actively participate in our government. In England, the greatest monarchy, the only Government that rivals our own, we have an opportunity to compare the progress made under government by men and government by women—that is, as the fountainhead of power. I wish to call your attention this morning to the fact that never was greater progress made in any civilized country, not even in our own, than was made under the reign of Victoria.

Mr. LITTLETON. Admitting that the argument in behalf of woman's suffrage that has been advanced is perfectly correct, will you explain the necessity for the machinery embodied in these various bills through the medium of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States when the question of suffrage has always been a matter of amendment to the State constitutions?

Mr. LAFFERTY. It is not absolutely necessary that this right of equal suffrage be extended by the Federal Government. It may be extended by one State at a time, by the State legislatures. But I say that the time has come—States have taken the lead—but the time has arrived when the Federal Government should give to the women of this country rights under the law with the men of this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Your time has expired.

Mr. LAFFERTY. I have just received a telegram on this subject from Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, of Portland, Oreg., which I desire to insert in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be done.

The telegram referred to by Mr. Lafferty is as follows:

PORTLAND, OREG., *March 12, 1912.*

Congressman A. W. LAFFERTY,
Washington, D. C.:

Receiving your wire that the matter of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting suffrage to women will come before congressional committee to-morrow, and believing the committee would be interested in the trend of sentiment in Oregon on this great question of equality before the law for women, I forward this to you.

An amendment to the constitution of Oregon guaranteeing suffrage to all citizens of the State is to be voted on at the November election, originated by initiative petition. It also received the sanction of the legislature. Although similar amendments have failed of adoption at three different elections in the past 28 years, this year sentiment is crystallizing so generally in its favor that voters all over the State are predicting its success. Clubs composed of both men and women are being formed in every section, with votes for women as their motto. Leading newspapers of the State are advocating and forecasting adoption of the amendment. Oregon has been greatly aided in advancing public sentiment toward extending equality to its women by its northern and southern

neighbors, Washington and California, where the women voters, by the wise and conservative manner in which they have cast their ballots, have shown the practical expediency, as well as the justice of this advanced step in self-government. I believe the time is ripe for such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and hope the congressional committee will recommend it.

ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY,
President Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association.

The CHAIRMAN. I desire to say at this time that the committee will consider a statement made by Hon. Victor Berger on the pending resolution, which was handed to me, and I will turn it over to Miss Addams for such disposition as she cares to make of it. She may either read it, or it will be printed in the record, as Miss Addams may determine.

Miss ADDAMS. The next speaker is not a Member of the House, although she is eligible. Mrs. Kent, of California, will speak to us of the educational advantages of the campaign for the ballot. She has recently borne a valiant part in such a campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be pleased to hear Mrs. Kent.

REMARKS OF MRS. WILLIAM KENT, OF KENTFIELD, CAL.

Mrs. KENT. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the United States is committed to a democratic form of Government, government by the people. Those who do not believe in the ideals of democracy are the only ones who can consistently oppose woman's suffrage.

I heard a man arguing against woman's suffrage by saying he believed in a division of labor, the men to vote and decide political questions as part of their work, and women to have other duties, equally useful. You can not make such a division of labor if you believe in a democracy, if you believe in self-government, any more than you can give all the eating and sleeping to half the community while the other half does something else equally useful.

In the California campaign we had an effective poster with the incontrovertible, yet suggestive statement, "Lincoln believed in government by the people. Women are people." We want to be recognized as people; we want our share of responsibility in the Government under which we live.

In a democracy the only hope of good government lies in an enlightened, responsible citizenship. The hope of democracy is in education. There is food for thought in the fact that the early education of all the citizens is now administered by a class who have no vote.

In the New York suffrage parade last year the mothers marched under a banner which read "We prepare the child for the State. Let us help prepare the State for the child." What education have women received to fit them for that?

In our recent California Legislature which has attracted so much attention all over the countries of the world, at the end of its last session, when it passed the bills which were to be referred to the people on October 10, a very sensible and intelligent thing was done. Speeches for and against each one of these amendments were prepared and published and a little pamphlet with these arguments was sent to every voter. Now, a man—and he was a good man, too—who argued against woman's suffrage, said that women should not

descend into the dirty mire of politics; that the vote would be of no value to them. In the same argument, he said that women should teach their sons their sacred duties as citizens, and teach their sons to hold the ballot as the most sacred and precious inheritance of every American boy.

Can we accept all these statements? Can we really bring up our sons with a clear sense of civic responsibility when we have none?

The evidence goes to show that we have not done it. We believe that our children need what we shall learn in becoming citizens, and that the State needs what we have learned in being mothers and home makers.

Take the example of our prisons, public institutions for which the voter is responsible. These institutions do not redound to the credit of the voter, the man who has not been taught his social responsibility. We see in the prisons the result of the commercial and the military way of conducting affairs, the traditional way of the man. One's ideal of a mother and teacher is not that of a strict disciplinarian, of one bent on punishing, but an integral part of the work of most women is that of dealing with the unruly. Her problems have always been to keep her children in the path of virtue, so far as her love and her wisdom and her wits will help her, and to bring them back if they stray. Prevention and correction are problems she has lived with and studied. Those are the real problems in dealing with those who have gone wrong.

In connection with the problems of the prison there is a woman's mop and broom and scrubbing brush. You will admit that there is room in the prisons for these things, as much there as in our households; and if the women had the vote, they would insist on bringing these necessary things into those institutions.

And as with the prisons, so with the other questions of our social life—which is but the family life enlarged—is not the woman's point of view needed? Can you not see that she has something to offer, and that it is a desire to serve that actuates her in asking for the ballot?

Miss ADDAMS. May I present next, Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Harper? She has been before other congressional committees with Miss Susan B. Anthony, who for so many years appeared to present this cause. Mrs. Harper has written a history of the equal-suffrage movement, and also a very fine biography of Miss Anthony, and it is with special pleasure that I present her. She will make the constitutional argument, and perhaps answer the questions which a member of the committee put to Mr. Lafferty.

REMARKS OF MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER, OF NEW YORK CITY.

Mrs. HARPER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, this argument presented to-day shall be based entirely on the Federal Constitution, and the only authorities cited will be the utterances of two Presidents of the United States within the past month.

In the Columbus, Ohio, speech of Mr. Roosevelt, opening his campaign, he said:

> I hold with Lincoln that "this country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they grow weary of existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it."

We appear before you representing a class of citizens who are exceedingly "weary of the existing government," but are wholly deprived by its Constitution of any right or power to change it. We ask you, therefore, what or where is our redress? But one other class could come to you as helpless—the Orientals within our boundaries—but they have not the mockery of citizenship.

I emphatically protest—

Said Mr. Roosevelt—

against any theory that would make of the Constitution a means of thwarting instead of securing the absolute right of the people to rule themselves.

Except by physical force there is but one way in which people can rule themselves and that is through choosing their own representatives in the Government by means of a vote. This is practically forbidden to women by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the National Constitution which authorize the State constitutions to prohibit it directly.

To quote Mr. Roosevelt once more:

The object of every American constitution must be what is set forth in the preamble to the National—to "establish justice" by means of popular self-government. If the Constitution is successfully invoked to nullify the effort to remedy injustice, it is proof positive either that the Constitution needs immediate amendment or else that it is being wrongfully and improperly construed.

When women citizens have invoked the National Constitution in their efforts to establish the justice of a voice in their own government, the Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly construed it as not conferring this right. As women had no appeal from its being "wrongfully and improperly construed," they accepted the alternative that "it needed immediate amendment."

For this purpose they began making their pilgrimages to Washington in 1869, and they have brought their case before the committees of every Congress since that time. Of those first petitioners there is not one living, and probably not one man of the committees who listened to their voices. Some of those who address you to-day belong to the third generation who have come to this Capitol seeking "to establish justice."

Turn for a moment to the opinions of another President of the United States, the one who now occupies this exalted position. In the speech of Mr. Taft at Toledo, Ohio, inaugurating his present campaign, he said:

From our body politic we have excised the cancer of slavery, the only thing protected by the Constitution inconsistent with that liberty, the preservation of which was the main purpose of establishing the Union.

In the first establishment of our Union its main purpose was not to preserve physical but political liberty; and when the second struggle came, if it had been only to guarantee personal freedom, the thirteenth amendment to the National Constitution would have alone been sufficient, but the fourteenth and then the fifteenth were added in order to secure political freedom. And while this is still denied to half the citizens the roots of the cancer yet strike deep in the body politic.

Then, defending the courts, President Taft said:

The great body of the law * * * is founded on the eternal principles of right and morality. * * * As between the individual and the State, the

majority and the minority, the powerful and the weak, financially, socially, and politically, the courts must hold an even hand and give judgment without fear or favor.

The man filling the highest elective legal position in New York City said to me a short time ago:

After many years of practice at the bar and many years of service on the bench, I am firmly convinced that women can never receive exact justice in the courts until they become voters. While judges may be absolutely impervious to every other influence, they can not wholly ignore political power.

This fact must be universally recognized that disfranchisement is not only a great handicap to women legally but also economically, and socially in the large sense of the word, while politically its puts them out of the race.

In this Toledo speech President Taft earned the profound regard of women by casting aside the flimsy pretense of universal suffrage and saying:

The best government, in the sense of the one most certain to provide for and protect the rights and governmental needs of every class, is that one in which every class has a voice. In recognition of this, the tendency from earliest time has been the enlargement of the electorate to include as many as possible of those governed; but even to-day the government is by a majority of one-fourth. This is the nearest to a Government of the whole people that we have ever had. But woman suffrage will change this, and it is doubtless coming as soon as the electorate can be certain that most women desire it and will assume its burdens and responsibilities.

Gentlemen of the committee, in the nearly a century and a half of our Government this is the only expression in favor of woman suffrage ever publicly made by a President of the United States! We appreciate it and welcome it, but we regret that Mr. Taft should impose upon women a requirement never imposed upon men in our own Government or any other in the world's history—to prove that a majority want the suffrage and would use it. No class of people in any country has ever been enfranchised at a request or with any pledges from the majority, but always because of the efforts of a few strong, patriotic leaders, and ostensibly, at least, as an act of justice by the Government. If, in the words of Mr. Taft, "the best government and the one most certain to protect the rights of every class is that one in which every class has a voice," then the United States Government should no longer quibble over the exact number who desire to have their rights thus protected.

Since, however, the excuse for withholding the franchise from women has now practically narrowed down to this one point, they will accept the issue. A few days ago United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge made a speech at Princeton University in which he used this sentence:

It is quite true that the voters are the means by which we necessarily obtain an expression of the popular will.

There is indeed but one sure way to learn whether women want the ballot and will use it, and that is to make them voters and watch the result. By this test the advocates of women's suffrage are willing to have the question judged.

The women of California were enfranchised in October, 1911. In Los Angeles, one month later, 85,546 registered—nearly all in the city who were eligible—and the following month 95 per cent of these voted—a record never made by men. This might be considered an

emergency, but from all parts of the State come reports of a proportionate registration for the usual spring elections. Within three months after the women of Washington became electors—in 1910—over 22,000 went to the polls and deposed a corrupt mayor, and last week they defeated him for reelection. Tacoma has a similar story. In Wyoming, as Territory and State, women have been voters 42 years; in Utah, 33; in Colorado, 18; in Idaho, 16. The official election returns show that from the beginning to the present time they have voted in just as large a proportion as men, and frequently in a larger proportion. These facts prove that in the six States where women are permitted to vote they have satisfactorily met the supreme test of whether the majority of women want the suffrage and would use it. Basing their claim on this unimpeachable record, the women of other States demand the franchise.

I will close this argument with one more very recent quotation from President Taft. In speaking of the capacity for self-government, he said:

> It is the question of self-imposed restraint that determines whether a people is fit to govern itself.

We can offer no stronger evidence of the self-restraint of women than the fact that, although they have come before these committees of Senate and House with their petitions and arguments 43 years, only to be treated with contemptuous indifference and neglect, they have never departed from the strictest rules of dignity and self-control. Forty-three years in asking for this amendment they have followed an entirely legal and constitutional method of procedure, which has been so absolutely barren of results that in the past 19 years these committees have made no report whatever, either favorable or unfavorable. How much longer do you expect women to treat with respect National and State constitutions and legislative bodies that stand thus an impenetrable barrier between them and their rights as citizens of the United States?

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Harper, the committee will be very glad that you extend your remarks to answer a question propounded by Mr. Littleton a while ago. I wish to say that this committee, during my service on it, has always been met with this proposition when this amendment was proposed, that the States already have the authority to confer suffrage upon women, and, therefore, why is it necessary for women to wait for an amendment to the Federal Constitution when they can go now to the States and obtain this right to vote, just as the women of California did last year?

Mrs. HARPER. Mr. Chairman, the women are not waiting; they are keeping right on with their efforts to get the suffrage from the States. They began in 1867 with their State campaigns and have continued them ever since. But in sending the women to the States, you require them to make 48 campaigns and to go to the individual electors to get the permission to vote.

After the Civil War, the Republican Party with all its power and with only the Northern States voting, was never able to get the suffrage for the negroes. The leaders went to State after State, even to Kansas, with its record for freeing the negroes, and every State turned down the proposition to give them suffrage. I do not believe that the individual voters of any State would give the suffrage to any new class, even of men. The capitalists would not

let the working people vote if they could help it, and the working people would not let the capitalists vote; Catholics would not enfranchise the Protestants, and the Protestants would not give the vote to Catholics. You impose upon us an intolerable condition when you send us to the individual voters. What man on this committee would like to submit his electoral rights to the voters of New York City, for instance, representing as they do every nationality in the world? If we could secure this amendment to the Federal Constitution, then we could deal with the legislatures, with the selected men in each State, instead of the great conglomerate of voters that we have in this country, such as does not exist in any other.

The CHAIRMAN. But if one of these suffrage resolutions should be favorably reported, and both Houses of Congress should pass it, of course it would be referred to the States, and then before it became a law it would have to have their approval.

Mrs. HARPER. Only of the legislatures, not the individual voters.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the States acting through their legislatures?

Mrs. HARPER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the States, you know.

Mrs. HARPER. I think you would fully preserve the idea of States' rights by letting the legislatures of each State decide it. We ask for the easiest way to secure our enfranchisement.

The CHAIRMAN. You used an expression which a member of the committee has asked me to have you explain. You used the expression "conglomerate of voters," which you said does not exist elsewhere. The desire is to know to whom you refer.

Mrs. HARPER. I mean no disrespect to the great body of voters in the United States; but in every other country the voters are the people of its own nationality. In no other would the question have to go to the nationalities of the whole world as it would in our country. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Because we have a mixed population you designate them as a conglomerate of voters?

Mrs. HARPER. Conglomerate in the sense of being a mass without any definite coherence. For instance, we have to submit our question to the negro and to the Indian men of the whole country, when we go to the individual voters, and we have to submit it to the native-born Chinese, and to all those men from southern Europe who are trained in the idea of woman's inferiority.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not propose, then, to enfranchise all the women who may be in this country in the amendment?

Mrs. HARPER. No matter what it may propose, these men may vote on the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You question, do you not, their fitness for the franchise?

Mrs. HARPER. I do not question anybody's fitness for the franchise. We only say that you put upon us conditions which are not put upon women anywhere in the whole world outside of the United States.

Mr. LITTLETON. I asked Mr. Lafferty a question about this proposed amendment to the Constitution. Assuming there is no objection to woman suffrage at all, I ask whether you would make any headway by the adoption of this amendment, and thereby make the only exception on the question of suffrage, except in the case of the

negro vote. The States control suffrage absolutely. In this particular case it would be the National Government forbidding the States to deny women the right to vote. You would have to convince every legislator of the fact that this amendment to the National Constitution ought to be adopted. If you could convince the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, you could get three-fourths of them to grant the suffrage itself.

Mrs. HARPER. They could only grant it to the extent of sending us to the individual voters, while if this amendement were submitted by Congress, and the legislatures indorsed it we would never have to deal with the individual voters.

Mr. HIGGINS. In other words, as I understand you, you have more confidence in the legislatures than in the composite citizenship.

Mrs. HARPER. The composite male citizenship, you mean. We suppose, of course, that the legislatures represent the picked men of the community, its intelligence, its judgment, the best that the community has. That is the supposition! [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. That supposition applies to Congress also, does it? [Laughter.]

Mrs. HARPER. In a larger degree.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is very much obliged to you, Madam.

Miss ADDAMS. Mr. Chairman, while Mrs. Harper has presented one point of view to you, living as I do in a community in which there are large numbers of immigrants, I would like to present the other point of view. We found when we had a big campaign in Chicago that some of the best help we had was from the immigrant communities. All of the Scandinavian women who had voted on municipal matters at home came into our municipal campaigns and were the best speakers and workers we had. The Italian and German women know of the woman's movement in their home countries and often ask why they are not drawn more quickly into the suffrage movement in America. They will all be interested in time; it seems well to try several ways, but in the end we are willing and eager to submit our cause to the people of America, and when that time comes I am sure we will have much more help from the immigrant communities than we realize because they know we are falling behind the European movement. That is my personal testimony, having lived for more than 20 years among a large number of immigrant people.

I should like to ask Mrs. Phillips, who is from Milwaukee, to read Mr. Berger's statement.

We have several requests to bring before the committee; shall I present them this morning?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the committee? I would suggest that they be offered after the luncheon hour.

Mr. LITTLETON. Is it possible for Mr. Berger to be here himself?

Miss ADDAMS. He is in Milwaukee.

The CHAIRMAN. We might continue this hearing. Would that suit you? If you could conclude the hearing by 1 o'clock, we might continue until that hour.

Miss ADDAMS. Would our sisters on the other side be heard in that hour?

The CHAIRMAN. They have asked for only 10 minutes.

Miss ADDAMS. I will ask, at this time, that Mr. Berger's statement be read, and then we will have one more speaker. Will the other side then present their statements, giving us an opportunity for rebuttal. Mrs. Phillips will read Mr. Berger's statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name and address to the reporter.

Mrs. PHILLIPS. Mrs. Elsie Cole Phillips; Milwaukee, Wis. Mr. Chairman, I have thought a great many times that Victor Berger was the most fortunate of human beings in being the representative of the greatest political party in the greatest deliberative body in the world. It fills me with happy pride to slip into his shoes for just a moment, although I readily admit they are both literally and figuratively a loose fit. [Laughter.] This is Mr. Berger's statement [reading]:

STATEMENT ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY VICTOR L. BERGER, MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

Woman suffrage is a necessity, both from a political and an economic standpoint. Woman are a part of the demos—of the people. They are the other half. We can never have democratic rule until we let the women vote. We can never have real freedom until the women are free. To quote the immortal Lincoln on slavery, we can not endure as a nation half free and half unfree.

Women are now citizens in all but the main expression of citizenship—the exercise of the vote. They need this power to round out and complete their citizenship. Already they have this power in six of the States of the Union. They must have it in all of the States in order that their rights and powers of citizenship may be equal everywhere within the Nation.

In political matters they have much the same interests that we men have. In State and national issues their interests differ little, if at all, from our interests. In municipal questions they have an even greater interest than we have. All the complex questions of housing, schooling, policing, sanitation, and kindred matters are peculiarly the interests of women as the home maker and the rearer of children. Women need and must have the ballot by which to protect their interests in these political and administrative questions.

The economic argument for woman suffrage is yet stronger. Economics plays an increasingly important part in all our lives, and political power is absolutely necessary to obtain for women the possibility of decent conditions of living. The low pay and the hard conditions of working women are largely due to their disfranchisement. Skilled women who do the same work as men for lower pay could enforce, with the ballot, an equal wage rate.

The ideal woman of the men of past generations (and especially of the German) was the housewife, the woman who could wash, cook, scrub, knit stockings, make dresses for herself and her children, and take good care of the house. That ideal has become impossible. Those good old days, if ever they were good, are gone forever.

The housewife used to wash. Now the laundry has taken away her washtub and does the work better and cheaper. The "hausfrau" used to knit stockings. Now the knitting factory does her knitting. The frugal housewife can buy two pair of stockings for a quarter. She can buy dresses cheaper and better than she can make them.

Even the scrubbing, ironing, and house cleaning are now done by electricity. In many of the large apartment houses of New York and Washington no cooking in apartments is permitted. Instead there is one restaurant, where usually they have a man cook. And the workingman, as a rule, eats only one meal a day—or, at best, two meals a day—at home. The kitchen is slipping away from the woman.

In the good old days, moreover, the woman was supported by her father first and later by her husband. The situation is entirely different now. The woman has to go to work, often when she is no more than 14 years old. She surely has to go to work sometime, if she belongs to the working class. She must make her own living in the factory, the store, the office, or in the schoolroom. She must work to support herself, and often must also support her family.

The economic basis of the life of a woman has changed in America as well as in England and Germany. And therefore the argument that a woman should

not vote because she ought to stay at home and take care of her family is an argument the basis for which has been destroyed. She can not stay at home, whether she wants to or not. She must go to work to take care of the family. She has acquired the economic functions of the man, and she ought also to acquire the franchise. Without that franchise she can not protect her interests as a wage earner.

It is often maintained that women are, as a rule, ignorant of politics and that they would make a mess of it if the franchise were given them. It can not, however, be asserted that men have made so brilliant a success of politics as to warrant them in doubting the political capacity of women. Women, no doubt, are, as a rule, untrained in politics. Their ignorance, however, is due to a lack of training. When the vote is first given them they blunder with it, of course. So, often, do the young men of 21. With more experience, with the consciousness of having the ballot and of its power for good and evil, women soon learn to use it as men use it—for the protection of their political and economic interests. That is the history of woman suffrage in the Western States.

The Socialist Party ever since its origin has stood steadfastly for woman suffrage. It has made this demand of prime importance in all of its platforms everywhere. It recognizes that one-half of the race can not free itself while leaving the other half unfree. It demands woman suffrage for the same reason that it insists upon manhood suffrage—that the race may become politically free, as a preparation for economic freedom.

Miss ADDAMS. We are very happy to have this message from Mr. Berger.

May I introduce, now, one of my own fellow townswomen, Miss Mary McDowell, who has had what I may call a distressing life in the stockyards district of Chicago for many years, and she will tell you of the conditions there and what she thinks the franchise will do toward cleaning it up?

REMARKS OF MISS MARY E. M'DOWELL, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO SETTLEMENT, CHICAGO, ILL.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name and address to the stenographer.

Miss McDOWELL. Mary E. McDowell, Chicago University Settlement, Chicago, Ill.

I am not one of those who believe that if we get the suffrage that we are going to have a millenium or that we can clean up the stockyards entirely and vouchsafe that all of the sausages will be exactly right. But I do believe, with Mrs. Podger, in Adam Bede. She said, "I am not denying that women are foolish; God Almighty made them to match the men." So we are all, together, very human, it seems to me, both men and women; and it is because we are human, because this is a human proposition and not a woman proposition, that I am glad to speak for it, and it is because it is human that I believe in it so firmly. Giving the vote to women is not simply a woman's question. It is a human question. It has to do with the man, the child, the home. Women have always worked, but within less than a century millions of women and girls have been thrust out of the home into a man-made world of industry and commerce.

We know that in Germany nearly 9,000,000 women are self-supporting; that in the metal trades alone women are in such numbers that in the metal workers' union of half a million members 25,000 are women. In England there are nearly 6,000,000 women and girl wage earners, while in America over five and a half million, according to the census of 1900, are bread winners; and the latest fact states that 59 per cent of the girls in America are earning some kind of a living not only for themselves but for others as well.

These facts must suggest to any thoughtful person that women have come into a new time and have to deal with new conditions, and that these new conditions demand a new view of their double responsibilities. For the working woman carries a double burden—that of the home and the factory. It has been placed upon her, creating new duties that can not be shifted onto men, but must be shared with them, or the wage-earning women and the future homes of America will suffer. Whether we like it or not, this great movement of women out from the home is too tremendous to be put aside by that old-fashioned notion, even though it be a chivalrous one, held by one of our great statesmen, who, when asked if he believed women should have the vote, answered, looking at his wife and daughters: "Oh, no; I think women should be protected." Is it not a large undertaking for the men of the old school of chivalry to protect those millions of young working girls and women? Can anyone give to women any real protection except they themselves?

Do we not see that the working women must be given every safeguard that workingmen have, for now as they stand side by side with men in the factory and shop they must stand with them politically. The ballot may be, to be sure, but a small bit of the machinery that is to lift the mass of wage-earning women up to a higher plane of self-respect and self-protection, but will it not add the balance of power so much needed by the workingmen in their struggle for protective legislation, which will in the end be shared by the women? To-day women are cheap, unskilled labor and will be until organization and technical training, and the responsibility of the ballot in their hands will develop a consciousness of their social value.

The home is affected by everything that affects the woman, who is the home maker. She has to learn to value herself by a new social standard, for society dare not permit motherhood to be cheapened. Women themselves must become conscious of the effect of irresponsibility in a wage-earning world, and in this new life they did not ask for they must realize the danger of undervaluing themselves. The vote and all that it implies will awaken this sense of value. It will give to the wage-earning woman a new status in industry, that world that is dominated by men, for they will help to educate her when she is a political as well as an industrial coworker. Even her boss will see her in a new light; and she, with her double burden of the home and the factory, will recognize that no one but herself can give the protection she and the home need.

As man gave strength to the developing of the institution of the home, woman must be given the opportunity to help man to humanize the State. This can be done only when she has the ballot and shares the responsibility.

At this moment this seems to me the most urgent demand for the vote for women. The home is in grave danger unless the home maker is made conscious of her new conditions and new duties.

Miss ADDAMS. We have one or two other speakers, but I should prefer, if I have your permission, Mr. Chairman, to reserve them until after the statement is made by the other side.

Mr. RUCKER. What is your pleasure?

Miss ADDAMS. My pleasure is to have the other side speak now.

Mr. RUCKER. How much time will the other side desire?

Miss BRÉHAUT. We ask only a few minutes; just time enough to read two or three typewritten pages.

Mr. RUCKER. You may proceed. Give your name and address to the reporter.

Miss BRÉHAUT. Miss Ella C. Bréhaut, Washington, D. C. I am a member of the executive committee of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

In the enforced absence of Mrs. Goodwin, the chairman of the District of Columbia Auxiliary of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, I have been requested to read a very short statement prepared by her, and addressed to your honorable committee [reading]:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE:

The members of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, through their president, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, of New York, have authorized the auxiliary of the District of Columbia to present at this hearing their earnest protest against the further extension of the suffrage to women through amendment of the Federal Constitution, and they respectfully request that this protest be printed with the other statements made this day before your honorable committee.

We desire to call attention to the following facts:

First. It is useless for the National Woman Suffrage Association to attempt to secure an amendment to the Federal Constitution before they have assured themselves that three-quarters of the States will ratify the amendment after its adoption. As such an amendment could not be ratified for many years to come, if ever, its adoption at this time would be an absolute waste of time and energy.

Second. The majority of the women of this country do not favor woman suffrage, and are either indifferent or actively opposed. Miss Jessie Ashley, treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association, says that according to a rough estimate, the women favoring suffrage number 3,000,000. This is a high estimate, in view of the fact that only 75,000 are organized. The last information from the Bureau of the Census gives the estimated female population of continental United States as approximately 46,000,000. This total female population and the estimate of Miss Ashley necessarily include those who are under age, but the fact remains that the suffrage party represents but a small proportion of the whole number of women.

Third. American conditions in no way resemble those of the countries in which suffrage is granted to women. If it were given to all the women of this country, the large and ignorant element among negroes and naturalized foreigners, corruptible because ignorant, would be doubled, and the difficulty of handling an already cumbersome and unwieldy electorate would be greatly increased, and the attendant expense enhanced, while the intelligent element which ought to be a source of strength would be overwhelmed by numbers and lose its direct nonpartisan power of influencing legislation, which it now possesses because unsuspected of interested or selfish motives.

Fourth. There has been formed this year a National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and State associations allied therewith are being organized with rapidity, to express the active opposition of women who have recently been aroused to aggressive effort against woman suffrage. Among the members will be found very many of the sanest, most useful, and best-known women of America, who desire their wishes in this matter to be presented to the governing bodies of our country in no uncertain terms, feeling sure that they will be given every consideration of fairness in the study of this question, and that their wishes and convictions will be duly weighed.

Fifth. It is manifestly unfair that a question involving so many women should be settled at the behest of a few, and that the majority should have thrust upon them duties and burdens which they are unwilling to assume.

We respectfully request that the gentlemen of this honorable committee carefully consider our protest.

GRACE DUFFIELD GOODWIN,
Chairman of the Auxiliary of the District of Columbia,
Representing the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

MARCH 13, 1912.

Miss BRÉHAUT. Personally, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I should like to say, being a working woman myself, that I do not believe the majority of working women want woman suffrage. I have in my possession a letter from the treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association in which she says, "the working women are not with us, and we will never get suffrage until they are."

Miss ADDAMS. May I make a reply to one or two things, Mr. Chairman; a stock reply, so to speak?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be very glad to hear from you.

Miss ADDAMS. The fact that the amendment must be submitted to the States, and three-fourths of the States pass upon it, will be of great educational value to each State having an amendment before its legislature. For instance, in Illinois, we can not otherwise secure the full franchise for women save by a change in the constitution.

Mr. HIGGINS. Would it disturb you if I should ask you a question?

Miss ADDAMS. No.

Mr. HIGGINS. Are you in accord with Mrs. Harper's view, that the matter had better be submitted to the legislatures rather than to the citizenship of the States?

Miss ADDAMS. No; I should like to do it in both ways. In Illinois we would have to have a constitutional convention before we could have the State and Federal franchise. It is a long and difficult process to call a constitutional convention; it is tied up with many checks and counterchecks. We shall be glad ultimately to submit the question to the people, but in the meantime to submit the Federal amendment to the legislatures gives us an educational opportunity. We do not in the least distrust the people.

Mr. HIGGINS. It occurred to me that Mrs. Harper's statement was one of the worst indictments of the referendum that I have ever heard.

Miss ADDAMS. I do not agree with Mrs. Harper altogether. If you give the franchise to every adult woman in the United States you would approximately double the native vote, but you would not double the immigrant vote. In my neighborhood we have 20,000 Greek men and less than 1,000 Greek women. There are many more foreign men than women in this country, particularly among the Slavs. If you gave the franchise to every adult woman in the United States, you would cut your immigrant vote while you would double your American vote. I am, however, not one of the people who believe that the immigrant vote is a vote to be feared.

Mr. HIGGINS. I hold the same view expressed by Dr. Lyman Abbott on this subject. I am in favor of the suffrage if the matter is submitted to women and the majority of them vote for it.

Miss ADDAMS. That has never before been required from any other class desiring the franchise. You did not wait for every negro to vote for it; they might not have had it yet. That was not done in the Chartist movement in England. The franchise was extended to the workingmen in England in that long agitation starting in 1832, not because every workingman wanted it, but because the leading statesmen saw the advantage of the ballot to the workingman himself and to the political life of the Nation.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it disturb you if Mr. Davis were to ask you a question?

Miss ADDAMS. Not at all.

Mr. DAVIS. Then, the disproportion existing between the immigrants at this time is not merely temporary?

Miss ADDAMS. I think it is. Every new immigration begins always with the younger men, later the families come.

Mr. DAVIS. But, ultimately, the sexes will equalize among that class?

Miss ADDAMS. But they will equalize gradually, and there will always be, I think, new immigrants coming, perhaps some disproportion will always remain.

Mr. DAVIS. Do you know whether statistics show a disproportion of men and women among negroes?

Miss ADDAMS. No; I do not know that. I assume that they are approximately equal, as it is in other races.

Mr. HIGGINS. If you did not think the majority of women wanted full suffrage, you would not favor it, would you?

Miss ADDAMS. Yes, sir. It is not a question of forcing it upon the women who do not want it. It is a question of giving it to the minority who do want it.

Mr. HIGGINS. You do not take the view, then, which has been advanced by a good many, that the failure to exercise suffrage should work as a deprivation of the franchise?

Miss ADDAMS. No; I do not. I think if a man is not interested he ought not to vote. He does no good voting blindly.

Mr. HIGGINS. So you assume an interest, always.

Miss ADDAMS. He should be interested, but if he is not, the man who does not want to vote ought to stay at home.

Mr. LITTLETON. Do you think failure to exercise suffrage ought, as sometimes, to cause a forfeiture of it or a suspension of it?

Miss ADDAMS. No.

Mr. LITTLETON. Do you not think the person who has suffrage and does not pretend to use it ought to have it suspended for a while?

Miss ADDAMS. No; I should not penalize him. The point is, that those of us who do want to vote, can not; those who do not want to are not being forced to.

Mr. LITTLETON. In these election frauds that have come up in some States, as suggested by Mr. Davis, they punished them for the misuse of the suffrage.

Miss ADDAMS. I think for grafting.

Mr. LITTLETON. You think there ought to be some law depriving persons of the right to vote because they have misused it?

Miss ADDAMS. There is a difference between misusing it and merely not using it.

Mr. LITTLETON. That is the question I am asking you. It has occurred to me there ought to be some sort of penalty or a suspension of it until they do come to a realization of the use of it.

Miss ADDAMS. Women would be pleased to take up such questions later, after we have the vote.

Mr. LITTLETON. Yes; I was anxious to have your view. Can not the constitution of Illinois be amended in any fashion without a constitutional convention?

Miss ADDAMS. Yes; but our constitution is very difficult to amend. The legislature can propose only one amendment at the same session, and that article can not be again amended for four years. There are proposed amendments pending covering many years to come.

Mr. LITTLETON. Can not the Legislature of Illinois grant women suffrage?

Miss ADDAMS. No; they have not that power. Every year we go before them asking for county and municipal franchise, but they have no power to allow us to vote for governor or for President of the United States.

Mr. DAVIS. They have no power to organize and submit a constitutional amendment?

Miss ADDAMS. They have to do it through a constitutional convention. They can not do it by legislative enactment.

The CHAIRMAN. Can not the people of Illinois have a constitutional convention at any time if they see fit?

Miss ADDAMS. Yes; but there are many, many things——

The CHAIRMAN. In that way they could reach your complaint?

Miss ADDAMS. Yes.

Mr. HIGGINS. The legislature can not amend the constitution?

Miss ADDAMS. A constitutional convention must be called, specifying the subjects to be submitted.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose Judge Sterling could answer that.

Mr. STERLING. I think that is substantially correct.

Miss ADDAMS. I should like to say one more thing in regard to working women. I know a great many working women, and certainly I know of no class of women who so clearly see the necessity for the vote or so sorely need the power of protecting themselves as working women do. They are becoming increasingly conscious of it. We have a 10-hour law in Illinois, and hope to soon have a law to protect the women in dangerous trades. At every session of the legislature there is more and more legislation for the protection of working women. It is the trade-union girls themselves who always appear before the legislature and make arguments. It is not a philanthropic undertaking at all. It is being pushed by the working women of Illinois.

I should like to call upon Miss Lowe as the next speaker. She lives sometimes in Chicago and sometimes in Kansas City, but I will claim her for a fellow citizen. Miss Caroline A. Lowe.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear from Miss Lowe.

REMARKS OF MISS CAROLINE A. LOWE, OF KANSAS CITY, MO.

Miss LOWE. Mr. Chairman, it is as a wage earner and on behalf of the 7,000,000 wage-earning women in the United States that I wish to speak. I entered the ranks of the wage earners when 18 years of age. Since then I have earned every cent of the cost of my own maintenance and for several years was a potent factor in the support of my widowed mother.

NEED OF THE BALLOT.

The need of the ballot for the wage-earning women is a vital one. No plea can be made that we have the protection of the home or are represented by our fathers or brothers.

We need the ballot that we may broaden our horizon and assume our share in the solution of the problems that seriously affect our daily lives. There is no question that the exercise of the right to vote on matters of public concern enlarges the sense of public responsibility. While in Colorado, visiting a friend who had formerly been a teacher in Kansas, she assured me that the average woman teacher in Colorado, where women have the full right of franchise, is as fully informed on all political matters as is the average man teacher in Kansas, while the average woman teacher in Kansas ranks below the man in this respect.

We need the ballot for the purpose of self-protection. Last Saturday afternoon at the closing hour at Marshall Field's, in Chicago, a young woman fell to the floor in a dead faint and was carried away by her fellow workers. Long hours of the rush and strain of the Saturday shopping had overcome her. The 10-hour law is not a 10-hour law for us. We must be up at 6 in order to be at work by 8. It requires two hours after work for us to reach home and eat our evening meal. Fourteen hours out of the 24 are consumed entirely by our daily efforts to make a living. If we secure any education or amusement it leaves us but 7 or 8 hours for sleep, and this generally in insanitary and unwholesome surroundings.

Does the young woman cashier in Marshall Fields' need any voice in making the law that sets the hours of labor that shall constitute a day's work?

In the Boston Store, at the same hour, a delicate slip of a girl employed as an inspector was on the verge of a hysterical breakdown. The floor woman, in all kindness, said to her: "My dear, it is useless to feel like this. The busy season is just beginning, and you will have to stand it." Receiving a wage of $4.50 a week, has this girl any need of a voice in demanding a minimum wage law?

Has the young woman whose scalp was torn from her head at the Lawrence mill any need of the right to participate in the demand that safety appliances be placed upon all dangerous machinery?

What of the working girls, who through unemployment are no longer permitted to sell the labor of their hands and are forced to sell their virtue?

I met Katie Malloy under peculiar circumstances. It was because of this that she told me of her terrible struggles during the great garment workers' strike in Chicago. She had worked at Hart-Schaffner & Marx for five years and had saved $30. It was soon gone. She hunted for work, applied at the Young Woman's Christian Association and was told that so many hundreds of girls were out of work that they could not possibly do anything for her. She walked the streets day after day without success. For three days she had almost nothing to eat. "Oh," she said, with the tears streaming down her cheeks, "there is always some place where a man can crowd in and keep decent, but for us girls there is no place, no place but one, and it is thrown open to us day and night. Hundreds of girls—girls that worked by me in the shop—have gone into houses of—houses of— impurity."

Has Katie Malloy and the 5,000 working girls who are forced into lives of shame each month no need of a voice in a Government that should protect them from this worse than death?

THE WORKING WOMAN AND THE WORKING MAN.

From the standpoint of wages received, it is almost universal that women receive only about half the wages paid to men, although doing the same work.

We working women work side by side with our brothers. We are children of the same parents, reared in the same homes, educated in the same schools, ride to and fro on the same early morning and late evening cars, work together the same number of hours in the same shops. We have equal need of food, clothing, and shelter. But at 21 years of age our brothers are given a powerful weapon for self-defense, a larger means for growth and self-expression.

We working women, even because we are women and find our sex not a source of strength but a source of weakness and offering a greater opportunity for exploitation, have even greater need of this weapon which is denied to us.

Gentlemen of the committee, is there any justice underlying such a condition?

THE WORKING GIRL *v.* HER EMPLOYER.

But what of the working girl and her employer? Why is the ballot given to him while it is denied to us? Is it for the protection of his property that he may have a voice in the governing of his wealth, of his stocks and bonds and merchandise?

The wealth of the working woman is far more precious to the welfare of the State. From nature's raw products the working class can readily replace all of the material wealth owned by the employing class, but the wealth of the working woman is the wealth of flesh and blood, of all her physical, mental, and spiritual powers. It is the wealth not only of to-day, but that of future generations that is being bartered away so cheaply. Have we no right to a voice in the disposal of our wealth, the greatest wealth that the world possesses, the priceless wealth of its womanhood?

Is it not the cruelest injustice that the man whose material wealth is a source of strength and protection to him, and of power over us, should be given the additional advantage of an even greater weapon which he can use to perpetuate our condition of helpless subjection?

DISFRANCHISEMENT LEADS TO DISCRIMINATION.

You say the ballot is not a factor as a means of discrimination between the working man and the working woman. We found a most striking example of the falsity of this statement a few years ago in Chicago. The Chicago teachers, firemen, and policemen had had their salaries cut because of the poverty of the city. The teachers' salaries were cut the third time. They organized to investigate the reason for the reduction. Margaret Haley was selected to carry on the investigation. As a result she unearthed the fact that large corporations were not paying the legal amount of taxes. The teachers forced the issue, and through their efforts in July, 1902, $597,033 in back taxes on the franchises of five public utility corporations, was turned in to the public treasury, and a few months later an additional $600,000 taxes on these franchises was paid.

What was done with it? The policemen and firemen had the cut in their salaries restored, while the teachers did not. Instead, the finance committee recommended and the board of education appropriated the teachers' share to pay coal bills, repairs, etc.

Why was this? It was a clear case of the usual treatment accorded to a disfranchised class.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION.

However, Mr. Chairman, as students of sociology, we are forced to recognize the fact that the ballot has never yet been granted by a ruling class because of the needs of a serving class.

Almost without exception the extension of the franchise has taken place only when the needs of the industrial development have demanded a larger degree of freedon upon the part of the serving class; so that the serving class, driven by the very pressure of economic need, has organized as a class, and after a struggle has wrested from the grasp of the ruling class a larger share in the powers of government.

Instance after instance of the truth of this assertion presents itself. At the breaking up of the feudal system, the peasants in large numbers left the estates of their masters and entered upon the new form of industry made possible through manufacturing. To escape the robbery of the nobility they organized in guilds. This organization was a necessity not only for their protection, but also for the better development of their new form of industry. A larger freedom upon the part of the members of the guild was the inevitable outcome of the change in the industrial basis. As a result of the struggle the members of the guilds forced the nobility to relinquish their exorbitant demands and free towns came into existence. This extension of political liberty came as the direct result of the revolution that had taken place in the industrial life of a large number of the peasants of that day.

When the industrial basis of any society, or any large portion of society changes, the superstructure must change in accordance with it. This was again proved when the transition from the hand tool to machine production took place. Again it resulted in an extension of the franchise to a still larger portion of the working class.

CHANGE IN INDUSTRIAL BASIS NECESSITATES CORRESPONDING CHANGE IN POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN.

It is this same revolution that has taken place in the life of the working woman. Within the last two generations the women of the working class have been forced from their homes into the industries.

The weaving that we used to do with our hand loom is now done in great factories requiring the services of hundreds of thousands of women and children. The meat that we used to cure in the smokehouse is now prepared in gigantic meat-packing establishments. Our butter is made at the creamery and our bread at the bakery. Even the education of our children is placed in the hands of the kindergarten and the public schools. There has been nothing for us to do but to follow our jobs into the great industrial centers. His-

tory has proved that industrial revolutions are inevitably followed by political and social revolutions.

The industrial basis of the life of the woman has changed. The political supersturcture must be adjusted to conform to this change. This industrial change has given to woman a larger horizon, a greater freedom of action in the industrial world. Greater freedom and larger expression are at hand for her in the political life.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the time is ripe for the extension of the franchise to women. We do not come before you to beg of you the granting of any favor. We present to you a glorious opportunity to place yourselves abreast of the current of this great evolutionary movement. You can refuse to accept this opportunity, and you may for a moment delay its advance. But in effect it will be only as that of the old woman who, with her tiny broom endeavored to sweep back the incoming tide from the sea. If you desire to take the broad, progressive attitude, you will support the suffrage amendment now before your committee.

Miss ADDAMS. There are being organized all over the country leagues of men who devote themselves to the advancement of equal suffrage. It is a very great pleasure for us to have them associated with us. We have a representative here to-day of one of the leagues, Mr. James L. Laidlaw, of New York.

REMARKS OF MR. JAMES L. LAIDLAW, OF NEW YORK, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to hear from Mr. Laidlaw. Will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. LAIDLAW. My name is James L. Laidlaw, of New York City, N. Y.

Miss Addams, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, I have been asked to come before you to-day to represent the Men's League for Woman Suffrage. We have an organization in New York which is increasing very rapidly in numbers. There are organizations of the league in nearly all of the principal cities in this country. The membership now numbers in the thousands, and we expect soon to have it number in the hundreds of thousands. We believe this is the leading political question of the day, and that the time is now ripe for taking it in hand.

There are nearly a million and a half women who will have the full franchise this fall, and who will vote for the President of the United States. It has been said that women do not want it. I believe, and we men of the league believe, that if only one woman in the country wants it, she should have it. If there is one intelligent woman who is ready to vote she should have the right, and should not have to wait for a majority of women to express a desire for it.

As to women not voting when they have the franchise, there is no foundation in fact for this assertion. Take the State of Colorado, for instance. In Denver, where the records are kept, it is shown that more women than men, in proportion to the total registration, vote in the elections. In the recent election in Los Angeles the proportion of women voting was considerably larger than that of men. When women are aroused on a moral question they are

found working together enthusiastically with the best men for the good of the community. This is what we would expect of women, but it is not merely theoretical, as has been exemplified in Seattle, Tacoma, Denver, and many other places.

As to the reason for submitting this question to Congress, while we realize that the enfranchisement of women may be accomplished through State legislatures and the vote of the electors, we feel that equal suffrage is of such paramount importance that we should take every step possible to further the attainment of it.

If we let women mix in the affairs of the world, we immediately arouse a desire for self-expression and self-protection. About a hundred years ago when the question of full manhood suffrage was under consideration women had no property rights. They had not even the right to the custody of their own children. They were not admitted to the public schools; nowhere did they receive more than a very insufficient education. In some States that is now changed. In our State of New York, for instance, women are permitted to hold property, and their proportion of the holdings of real estate and securities is a large percentage of the total. Moreover, girls now receive a free school education.

Why should we give women the right to hold property, why should we give them the right to an education and refuse them the right to protect their interests or the right to express themselves politically? That question is being asked to-day all over the world. This is a women's era; the women in Europe and in Asia are working for the ballot just as they are in this country, and believe me, the women of China—think of China showing us the way—the women of China appear to be nearer gaining the franchise than the women of this country. It seems a disgrace that we, the people of the United States, who vauntingly use the terms liberty, equality, democracy, should permit one country after another, oriental and European, to show us the way to a true civilization.

Miss ADDAMS. Mrs. Phillips desires to make a short reply.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be very glad to hear from her.

REMARKS OF MRS. ELSIE COLE PHILLIPS, OF MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Mrs. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to speak just a moment again on the point in regard to the increase of the ignorant vote.

I think that a body of men such as you are, of wide experience and a habit of reflecting upon that experience, will recognize readily that intelligence and education are not necessarily synonymous, that book knowledge, knowledge that comes from school and college, may not make one wise in the practical problems of life, and that on the other hand, in dealing with these practical problems, one may gain a practical wisdom which is of great value.

Mrs. Nathan, the president of the Consumers' League in New York City, and a very ardent suffragist, as a matter of course, was in one of the large stores shopping, and being also an ardent propagandist, while she was waiting for her change she said to the clerk waiting on her, "By the way, are you interested in the suffrage?" And the girl replied indifferently, "Oh, not very much." And Mrs. Nathan said, "That is very strange to me. You ought to realize what it would mean to you to have a political expression for your needs,

needs that no one but yourself can understand." The girl said, "Oh, yes; of course, that is true. All of us girls know what we need. We would vote all right; the working girls would vote all right, but it just appalls me to think of letting in that ignorant Fifth Avenue vote." [Laughter.]

May I just add that I am glad that you think that is funny, and that I hope you appreciate the very funniest part of it, which is that it is true. From her point of view, these women were intensely ignorant. And I am willing to go on record as predicting that the only completely ignorant vote that will be admitted when this amendment is adopted will be the vote of those women who, because they are women of leisure, of no responsibilities, who know nothing of the pressure and burden of life, are ignorant, and the greatest kindness we can do to them, for the sake of their development, is to put into their hands this instrument of education for themselves.

Mr. LITTLETON. May I ask you a question?

Mrs. PHILLIPS. Certainly.

Mr. LITTLETON. Can you tell me what percentage of women who favor woman suffrage also favor socialism?

Mrs. PHILLIPS. No; I do not think I can. I could tell you exactly what percentage of socialists favor woman suffrage.

Mr. LITTLETON. I am more interested in the question the other way around.

Mrs. PHILLIPS. I should say, of the women who are active in the suffrage movement, only a very small percentage are active as socialists.

Mr. HIGGINS. Whether they are active socialists or not, do they accept the doctrines of the Socialist Party?

Mrs. PHILLIPS. No; I should say that is my one criticism of them.

Miss ADDAMS. I think, perhaps, of the people who have spoken today, perhaps only two or three are members of the Socialist Party. I think the parties are very evenly distributed.

Miss BRÉHAUT. Mr. Chairman, may I say just a word or two?

The CHAIRMAN. This chairman never was able to stop any woman from speaking.

REMARKS OF MISS ELLA C. BRÉHAUT, MEMBER EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Miss BRÉHAUT. The official figures show there were 52,000 Socialist votes cast in the Los Angeles election, and it is the opinion—the New York Call, the Socialist paper, asserts that it is pretty positive that 31,000 of the Socialists' votes were women's votes, and only 21,000 were votes of men.

Mr. STERLING. May I ask you a question?

Miss BRÉHAUT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STERLING. What is the name of the association for which you speak?

Miss BRÉHAUT. The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

Mr. STERLING. Where are its headquarters?

Miss BRÉHAUT. New York City.

Mr. STERLING. Is it organized in all of the States?

Miss BRÉHAUT. It is rapidly being organized. The national association was organized only last November. Auxiliaries are being organized rapidly in the various States. In the States in which there are woman-suffrage organizations they have been organized at least 25 years.

Mr. STERLING. It is a new organization?

Miss BRÉHAUT. This is the only national organization which has now been established.

Mr. STERLING. What is its membership now?

Miss BRÉHAUT. I really do not know. It is too new for us to know the figures.

Mr. STERLING. Is there anyone here who can give it?

Mrs. KINGSBURY WATTERMAN. In Massachusetts the membership is 17,000.

Miss BRÉHAUT. We admit and deplore the fact that women as well as men do not always receive adequate protection while engaged in labor. I understand, however, that 10 States have passed workmen's compensation laws during the past year, and that in nearly all the other States such laws are proposed, are being prepared, or are in course of passage. Could one expect greater progress than this?

The industrial exploitation of children referred to is a reason for shame in those States where it is permitted. The ultimate welfare of children in some States may perhaps depend on a children's bureau. The Senate has passed the Children's Bureau bill, and we fully expect that the House will take similar action. We do not accuse you gentlemen of not understanding that the life blood of a nation depends on the welfare of its children.

The model child labor law proposed by the national child labor committee contains 49 sections, and the following figures show the number of these provisions already enacted in the woman suffrage States and those of similar conditions and location: Of the 49 provisions, we find the law of Wyoming contains none; Idaho contains none; Colorado contains 7; Utah, 8; California, 12; Oregon, 14; Oklahoma, 15; North Dakota, 15; Minnesota, 20; Nebraska, 25; Wisconsin, 27. It is obvious that the man-suffrage States have the best child-labor laws and that the education of public opinion has more to do with the passage of good laws than women's votes.

Because of the value of woman's particular function to society and because of her physical limitations public opinion demands a limit to the hours of labor for women in industry. In 31 States laws have been passed limiting the number of hours of labor in which wage-earning women may be employed. Does any suffragist claim that these laws materialized through women's votes? They take away a woman's right to work as long as she will and help us to forget the evil day when she was permitted to ruin her health by competing with men. In many occupations woman should be willing to do a smaller stint of work and receive a proportionate wage. It is better for her health and the health of future generations to have it so.

It has been claimed here to-day that low wages, speeding, etc., would be cured by votes, though it has been proved over and over again that the vote does not control economic conditions. The law of supply and demand, modified by the demands of organized labor, controls wages. Men everywhere improve their condition by unions

and collective bargaining, and if they demand and obtain an uneconomic wage the industry is soon impaired and wages again adjust themselves.

Many women receive equal pay for equal work, and when they receive lower wages than men it is not because they are without votes, but because they are women, with physical and mental limitations which can not be legislated out of existence.

Women's limitations are natural and not to her discredit. According to the Pittsburgh Survey she is often prevented by inferior strength from competing for the best positions. This publication gives the following facts: Of the 22,185 women employed in Pittsburgh, only 3 per cent possess a handicraft or are engaged in skilled work. Most of the occupations of women in that city require neither training nor stability nor intelligence. Skill and judgment and the relation of one machine to another can not be learned in three or six months, and there is no apparent utility in training a woman to a knowledge of several processes when she hopes to end her factory or shop employment in six or eight years and has a consequent lack of ambition. Together these facts produce an unbusinesslike attitude, a conscious instability. For this reason women are undesirable apprentices. They can be employed profitably only at such occupations as are quickly learned. Their opportunities for employment are, with one exception, still further circumscribed by the opposition of men's unions, and the unions that bar women are those of skilled workers; and this is true in spite of the fact that the American Federation of Labor stands for woman suffrage. Her lack of physical strength, the opposition of men's unions, and her industrial instability combine to leave women the subsidiary processes and the mechanical operations which demand little intelligence. Expectation of marriage lessens her ambition, and this lack of ambition can have no other effect than to limit efficiency.

Naturally, the subsidiary processes are stultifying, slipping a hinge into place, filling pickle bottles, packing crackers, fruit and candy, stitching seams in ready-made garments, etc. Women's trade-unions and trade training are now considered the remedy for these undesirable conditions; but even when they become general, they will not alter the natural limitations of women, both mental and physical. With trade training her neuro-muscular exhaustibility will be less apparent, and the result may be a lengthening of her trade life, but she will still desire and expect to marry. It is hoped by a number of intelligent men and women that trade training will materalize long before votes for women, and that this trade training will be a part of the public-school system or given in cooperation with boards of education. Public education, gentlemen, is not a function of the National Government, and we do not look to you to solve these economic problems.

The proposed Commission on Industrial Relations would help to do so, and the newspapers state that a canvass of the Members of Congress shows almost unanimous approval of this measure, and that it is becoming a common plank in the platform of all presidential candidates. Woman's influence has been potent in this matter, and the need of her vote is not apparent.

A better distribution of immigrants in small groups to those localities where they are needed and can be Americanized would also seem

to be a function of the National Government, and would certainly do more to prevent an oversupply of labor in the great centers of population than women's votes. We believe, gentlemen, that with this end in view you will properly support the work of the Division of Information of the Bureau of Immigration.

The implication by Mrs. Penfield that connection with the Consumers' League connotes a belief in woman suffrage has no foundation in fact. I am myself a member of the Consumers' League and point to its effective work as a proof of the power of women's organizations unhampered by partisan politics.

Mrs. Penfield makes the extraordinary statement that women's votes are needed in order that pure food may be guaranteed. Public opinion regarding pure food has been formed, and adequate laws are embodied in our statutes, and the selling of sandwiches in the streets by suffragists conducting a cart-tail campaign does not add to the constructive thought regarding the enforcement of pure food laws. The work of the board of health in Mrs. Penfield's city is well organized and very efficient. The suffragist would undoubtedly bring a frenzied activity into such work if she had control, but we have no proof that it would be superior in any way to that of the New York board of health.

Women can do vastly more for the health of their families by learning to cook. We are a nation of dyspeptics, and it is a common thing for a young wife to begin housekeeping with no knowledge of the culinary art. The only hope for the health of the nation is through a better and more general knowledge regarding the choice and preparation of food. When mothers realize that daughters should be taught plain cooking no matter what other vocation they seek to follow, we shall cease to be ill by reason of improperly cooked food, and stomach specialists will cease to wax rich. Women's votes are no more necessary toward this result than they were in a vindication of the chief chemist of the Department of Agriculture.

The most emphasized reason given to-day is that woman suffrage is right. No measure of government is right unless it be for the greatest good of the greatest number. As a political unit, would the average woman do better than the average man? If not, there can be no possible reason for compelling her to assume the responsibilities that the ballot imposes. If she failed to do much better, the added vote would be only an extra expense without corresponding gain.

Would a taxpayer's wife be sufficiently interested in the welfare of women teachers to vote for men pledged to raise their pay at a greatly increased cost to the community? Would a working woman consider anything but her own convenience and comfort in voting on a subway bond issue? Would a Congressman's wife be over critical of her husband's legislative acts or of his party? Would women generally be interested in the good of the greatest number, and, if so, would this interest lead to a large attendance at primary elections and an intelligent consideration of the relative merits of candidates for nomination? We claim that this would not result. Average women, on attaining the ballot, might for several years be on their mettle, but their interest in politics would very naturally be spasmodic and not to be counted on. Prof. Jensen says of Utah women that "their interest in politics is passive rather than active." There

are thousands of women who are interested in politics, but millions who are not.

This mental attitude toward politics is perfectly natural. Should the majority of women appreciate the privilege of voting, and gain the familiarity with affairs that would make it intelligent, they would certainly be deprived of time that is necessary for recreation and physical upbuilding. Even without the burden of politics, the woman of the majority (the married woman without a servant) does not generally devote enough time to this purpose. She is too often engaged in a needless struggle to rival her friends and neighbors in the appointments of her house and the clothing of her family. A hand-embroidered centerpiece or shirtwaist is not sacrificed to rest, and these would not be given up for an improving book or a dissertation on political issues. Over-tired nervous women do not make for the betterment of the race, and manifold functions do not, except where circumstances are very favorable, result in well-balanced natures.

And the women who demand this full life for all women are not sincere. The full life, supposed to be consequent on entrance into politics, is only desired by a small minority of middle-class women, mostly college and professional women, who see in political position a release from the strain of competitive life. One leader, the Rev. Anna Shaw, has expressed a desire to be United States Senator. This desire for office has been expressed to-day before your honorable committee. We submit, gentlemen, that one can hardly pick up a newspaper without reading of the appointment or election of some specially qualified woman to office in States where only men vote. The men of Cincinnati recently elected a very efficient woman, and another in the same city has since been appointed to an important place, and without women's votes. We do not desire that women should be appointed or elected because they are women, but only when they can demonstrate peculiar fitness. These college and professional women are making good from year to year, and new avenues of usefulness are being opened up to them. Practically all industries and professions and many elective and appointive places in municipal and State government are open to women. The greatest good to the greatest number makes it inexpedient that the whole realm of politics should be theirs.

Miss Addams states that the foreign vote of Chicago would not be doubled by woman suffrage, and refers to the large number of Greeks and Slavs in that city who have no women folk. I accept her statement, but would say that the birth rate among the foreign born in this country is three times as large as that among native-born Americans. The foreign born and their children constituted in 1900, 48 per cent of the total population of the country, and much more than half the white population of the Northern States, reaching 79 per cent in New York and Chicago. An official of the marriage-license department of Chicago says that 75 per cent of the licenses issued by his department are to Poles, Slavs, and Lithuanians, and these three nationalities are furnishing the majority of the big families of Chicago. If the Greeks and Slavs mentioned by Miss Addams were also married the per cent would be still higher.

These nationalities and the Italians largely constitute our present immigration. According to Dr. Sidney D. Wilgus, chairman of the

committee on immigration of the New York State Lunacy Commission, one out of every four immigrants is found to be an undesirable. He says:

> We can not hope for a desirable race from these immigrants now coming to our shores. Some of them are so low in the scale of humanity, like the Macedonians and the Slavs from the Carpathian Range, that they do not know their own names. They forget the names of the towns they came from, or they do not even know the days of the week or the months of the year.

In the city of New York there are only 921,318 people out of 5,000,000 whose parents were native Americans.

Though Miss Addams does not fear the foreign-woman vote in Chicago she can, perhaps, sympathize with those States having a high percentage of illiteracy mostly in the native born, white and black. The illiteracy in men of voting age reaches 37 per cent in one State, and we can not believe that the wives of these men would be desirable voters. I don't agree with Miss Addams that education is not a necessary qualification in voters. The men and women of high ideals who have accomplished much for children would be hampered rather than helped by the votes of ignorant mothers. Mr. Lovejoy, of the National Child Labor Committee, says that "the effort to secure protection for children in this country is a desperate fight against the forces of ignorance and self-interest." The ignorant as well as the self-interested have women folk. In a Government report of the glass industry is described a study of 864 families to determine the cause of child labor. It was found that in no more than 36 per cent was economic necessity the primary motive for sending children under 14 to work in a glass factory. The tenement-house mother is so ignorant of the rights of childhood that she will hide her young daughter from the inspector that the child may continue to ruin her eyes and health by knotting willow plumes.

With reference to the alliance of the suffragists with the socialists "for convenience" and not on principle, I submit that socialistic principles are now taught by the woman-suffrage leaders, particularly the economic independence of all married women, and the State nurseries that would in such case be necessary, involving the general loosening of marriage and family ties that naturally follows with the shifting of responsibility from the individual to the State.

Miss Ashley, the treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association, has frequently written the weekly headquarters letters in the Woman's Journal (their national organ). In the issue of June 24, 1911, she said:

> Is there a common camp from which we can all march to demand the ballot? We who believe in the power and the destiny of the working class know that no possible common ground exists when the exercise of the ballot is an issue; the workingman, jammed like the girls into the subway trains, should not vote as does the owner of the subway train, nor should the fluttering girls vote as would the handsome ladies. Upon this point there can be no room for doubt.

I wrote to Miss Ashley for an explanation of this paragraph, and she proceeded in a letter to present her ideal of sex and class antagonism, as follows:

> What I mean is this: When once women have the right to vote there will be no possibility that all women, or even a large part of them, will vote alike; they will not be able to unite because their class interests will be stronger than sex interests. The rich and the poor must see things through different glasses. But the point I want to bring out is that until we have the ballot the

interest of all women is to get it, rich and poor alike. Therefore, can't we unite and work for it, since a united front would be so strong? And the question is, how can we get the working girls to come into our camp and fight together for the ballot? For instance, take an election. * * * Let there be made a clear-cut issue between those candidates for the legislature who stand for suffrage and those who don't. Let the list be in the hand of every suffragist; then let every suffragist determine to defeat, wherever possible, any candidate who is against suffrage, no matter of what party, no matter what else he may stand for. He may promise great things for the working people; no matter, let the working woman work to defeat him. He may stand for all good things for property owners; no matter, let the rich woman work to defeat him. Let there be but one war cry—suffrage.

The other question, as to what I mean by the destiny of the working class, is simpler, because it is a definite theory that before long the working class will be the class in power; that the workers are the only people worth while; they will survive and will take possession of the world and of the wealth they produce; that they will be the only class, and everyone must be of it to live at all. The aristocracy is gone; the middle class now rules; the working class will rule. All history shows this plan gradually working out. This is a distinct destiny in which all socialists and many others believe. In other words, we recognize that there are classes; that there is a class struggle, and this is bound to be ended by the victory of the working class.

Miss Ashley carries on her socialist propaganda in the Woman's Journal of June 3. She states that "our cities swarm with outraged, degraded, unfree women" and advises her readers to study the facts of social conditions "with an open mind," and especially recommends August Bebel's book on "Woman." This book is a translation from the German; and besides describing conditions that have never obtained in this country, it preaches the most radical socialist doctrines. I quote the following from one chapter called "Woman in the future":

In the choice of love she is just as free as man is free. She woos and is wooed and has no other inducement to bind herself than her own free will. The contract between two lovers is of a private nature, as in primitive times, without the intervention of any functionary, but it is distinguished from the primitive contract by the fact that the woman no longer becomes the slave of a man who obtained her as a gift or by purchase, and can cast her off at his pleasure. Human beings must be in a position to act as freely, where their strongest impulse is concerned, as in the case of any other natural instinct. * * * No one has to give an account of himself or herself, and no third person has the slightest right of intervention.

To enforce his views, August Bebel quotes a woman writer as follows:

We all read without the slightest moral indignation, for instance, how Goethe again and again wasted the warmth of his heart and the enthusiasm of his great soul on one woman after another. Every reasonable person regards this as perfectly natural, precisely because a great soul is difficult to satisfy, and only the narrow-minded moralist stops to blame him. But why, then, do you ridicule the great souls among women? Let us suppose that every woman were * * * a Lucretia Floriani; that all her children were children of love, but that those children were all brought up with true motherly devotion as well as with intelligence and good sense. * * * Doubtless the world would go on as before and progress as before.

These quotations speak for themselves. Conservative women, gentlemen, see nothing but danger in woman suffrage. If given the ballot, patriotism would compel all right-minded women to vote. Men are nowhere excused from taking up the responsibility laid upon them by the State.

As for the veiled threat of Mrs. Harper, that if peaceful means fail, another sort will be employed, I entreat you not to worry. The

State militias will be quite sufficient to protect persons and property, and there will be no necessity for an increase in the Regular Army.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the membership of the suffragists' organization is in that State?

Mrs. WATTERMAN. No; I can not tell you, but I believe it is 28,000.

Mrs. LAIDLAW. The membership in the Woman Suffrage Party in New York City alone is 50,000. [Applause.]

Mrs. WATTERMAN. The Woman Suffrage organization has been in existence for 60 years; we began only a few months ago.

Mr. HIGGINS. Have you organizations in most of the States?

Mrs. WATTERMAN. Most of them.

Mrs. LAIDLAW. When the 17,000 Massachusetts suffrage people are spoken of, I understand that is the total count through all these years, and that a person is in perpetuity a member of that organization, dead or alive. The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, which is beginning to work along political lines, has on its enrolled membership 50,000.

Mrs. WATTERMAN. Mrs. Laidlaw is wrong about that. That Massachusetts membership does not include everybody who has ever been a member.

Mr. HIGGINS. Does your society regard this as a great evil?

Mrs. WATTERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STERLING. Have you an organization in Illinois?

Mrs. WATTERMAN. Yes, sir; Mrs. Corbett is president.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope this has not disturbed you, Miss Addams.

Miss ADDAMS. No; not at all. We are anxious to have questions asked.

The CHAIRMAN. It is very sweet of you to say that.

Miss ADDAMS. There are two requests we would like to make. One is that as many copies as possible of this report shall be printed in order that they may be used throughout the country. We will say 10,000; if that sounds greedy we will say less.

Then, it has also been suggested that we pray your honorable body, if you feel it germane to be voted upon now, that some sort of a commission—it seems to be the age of governmental commissions—that some sort of a commission be appointed by the House to look into the question of woman suffrage, the possible demand for it in the various States, and the success it has gained in other States.

Miss BRÉHAUT. I will say we took the figures in regard to the Socialists from the Woman's Journal, the organ of the National Woman Suffrage Association, which quoted the New York Call as giving the Socialist vote—the Socialist women's vote as 31,000, and the Socialist men's vote as 21,000.

Miss ADDAMS. We are very happy indeed to have the Socialists with us. We are very proud of the work of the Socialist women. But, to make my point that women of other parties are also suffragists, I would like to say that in California, where women vote, the mayor of Berkeley is a Socialist; that in Wisconsin, where women do not vote, the mayor of Milwaukee is a Socialist. I think you will find the women divided through all the political parties.

The CHAIRMAN. I had the pleasure of serving in Congress with Gov. Shafroth, who is a Democrat, and I think women had a good deal to do with his election.

Mr. LITTLETON. I asked the question because I have noticed during the last two years the identity of suffrage and socialism, and I may say frankly it is the first time the objection has ever appeared serious.

Mrs. HARPER. I want to remind Mr. Littleton that the Socialist Party is the only party which declares for woman suffrage and thereby gives women an opportunity to come out and stand by it, and that is why there seems to be a preponderance of Socialist women. The Democratic and Republican Parties do not stand for woman suffrage, and that is why there seems to be more Socialist women than Republican or Democratic women. If the two old parties will come out for woman suffrage, then the women will show their colors.

Mr. LITTLETON. I have not taken it on that ground. I understand how you would lean on either party, and there is no fault to be found with that, because that is what everybody does. I spoke merely of the literature of your leading women. I have had occasion to examine the utterances of your leading women on what they call social justice, and I also refer to the Columbus speech of Mr. Roosevelt which you quoted, and I hope you will not ask me to accept his doctrine of constitutional government.

Mrs. HARPER. Just as far as I quoted it I will.

Mr. STERLING. May I understand this position? The Socialist is for woman suffrage, as a rule; that is true, is it not?

Mrs. HARPER. It is part of their platform.

Mr. STERLING. A woman suffragist is not necessarily a Socialist.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks it would be proper at any time to entertain in the form of a motion the suggestion Miss Addams made as to the printing of 10,000 copies of the hearing. The other question that she suggested, the committee would probably wish to take under advisement in executive session. The committee has heretofore acceded to the first request in open session.

Mr. LITTLETON. I move that the request for 10,000 copies be granted.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has leave of the House—I believe it is limited to 2,000. I will put the motion, that the committee print as many copies of the hearings as is allowed under the rules, and that the chairman of the committee request the House to print enough copies of the hearing, so that the whole number of copies printed shall reach 10,000.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say that the chairman of the committee will allow you the use of his frank, so that you may frank the copies of the hearings as a public document. Of course, you understand that under that frank nothing but this hearing can go; no personal letters.

Miss ADDAMS. May we assure you, Mr. Chairman, of our conviction that you have all been most open-minded in this hearing. May I close with a story illustrating that women, traditionally, because they have had to do so many little things, have developed the power of getting at a thing very promptly. That trait might be useful in government. A little play the other day was written by some set-

tlement boys, who did not speak English very well. They were writing a patriotic play, and the first act showed two Revolutionary soldiers on watch; one soldier said to the other, "Say, ain't it fierce, we ain't got no flag for this Revolution!" and the other soldier said, "Ain't it fierce!" and that was the end of the first act. The dramatic personnel of the second act were George Washington and a Revolutionary officer, and the officer said, "Ain't it fierce we ain't got no flag for this Revolution!" and Gen. Washington said, "Ain't it fierce!" and that was the end of the second act.

The third act showed George Washington calling upon Betsy Ross, the latter in a domestic setting, rocking a baby. George said, "Betsy, ain't it fierce we ain't got no flag for this Revolution!" and Betsy Ross said, "Yes; ain't it fierce. Hold the baby and I will make one." [Laughter.]

These boys were not suffragists, and had but the limited opportunity of life in a settlement neighborhood. We hope that direct action will result when women have the suffrage.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no other ladies who wish to be heard, in behalf of the committee permit me to thank you, Miss Addams, and your associates, and also the ladies who appeared on the other side, for your presence to-day, and for the very interesting and edifying facts so well expressed by you to the committee. We express our warm appreciation, and we beg to assure you we will take your suggestion under consideration in executive session.

Thereupon, at 12.55 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned.

The following letter was received by the Committee on the Judiciary, with the request that certain clippings and statements be printed as part of these hearings. The clippings, etc., against woman suffrage appear below.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: In behalf of the many women whose household and wage-earning duties keep them from appearing before your honorable committee, I beg leave to submit a few of our reasons for hoping you will refuse to burden all women with a new and heavy obligation at the request of an exceptional few.

Yours, respectfully,

JULIA T. WATERMAN.

SOME REASONS WHY WE OPPOSE VOTES FOR WOMEN.

[Northern California Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.]

First of all, for the oldest and shortest of reasons:

Because man is man, and woman is woman. Nature has made their functions different, and no constitutional amendment can make them the same.

Because the basis of government is force—its stability rests upon its physical power to enforce its laws; therefore it is inexpedient to give the vote to women. Immunity from service in executing the law would make most women irresponsible voters.

Because the suffrage is not a question of right or of justice, but of policy and expediency; and if there is no question of right or of justice, there is no case for woman suffrage.

Because it is the demand of a minority of women, and the majority of women protest against it. Because it means simply doubling the vote, and especially the undesirable and corrupt vote of our large cities.

Because the great advance of women in the last century—moral, intellectual, and economic—has been made without the vote; which goes to prove that it is not needed for their further advancement along the same lines.

Because women now stand outside of politics, and therefore are free to appeal to any party in matters of education, charity, and reform.

Because the ballot has not proved a cure-all for existing evils with men, and we find no reason to assume that it would be more effectual with women.

Because the woman suffrage movement is a backward step in the progress of civilization, in that it seeks to efface natural differentiation of function, and to produce identity, instead of division of labor.

Because in Colorado after a test of 17 years the results show no gain in public and political morals over male suffrage States, and the necessary increase in the cost of elections, which is already a huge burden upon the taxpayer, is unjustified.

Because our present duties fill up the whole measure of our time and ability, and are such as none but ourselves can perform. Our appreciation of their importance requires us to protest against all efforts to infringe upon our rights by imposing upon us those obligations which can not be separated from suffrage, but which, as we think, can not be performed by us without the sacrifice of the highest interests of our families and of society.

Because it is our fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons who represent us at the ballot box. Our fathers and our brothers love us; our husbands are our choice, and one with us; our sons are what we make them. We are content that they represent us in the cornfield, on the battlefield, and at the ballot box, and we them in the school room, at the fireside, and at the cradle, believing our representation even at the ballot box to be thus more full and impartial than it would be were the views of the few who wish suffrage adopted, contrary to the judgment of the many.

We do, therefore, respectfully protest against the proposed amendment to establish woman suffrage in our State. We believe that political equality will deprive us of special privileges hitherto accorded to us by law.

Our association has been formed for the purpose of conducting a purely educational campaign. If you are in sympathy with this aim and believe as we do in the righteousness of our cause will you not send your name to us and pass our appeal on to some one else?

NERVES IN POLITICS? OR NERVE?

[Issued by the Southern California Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 322 Exchange Building, Hill Street, Los Angeles.]

Women who assume the responsibility of suffrage must either add it to present duties or lay down those duties to take up this one.

The strain and emotionalism of politics—"which is war"—is a dangerous addition to the effect upon women of the physical strain and excitement of modern life, already deplored by physicians, both men and women, throughout the country.

The frequent low state of health among American women is a fact as undeniable as it is deplorable.

In this condition of things, what do certain women demand for the good of their sex? To add to the excitements that are wasting them, other and greater excitements, and to cares too much for their strength, other and greater cares.

When women generally vote and hold office, nervous prostration, desire for publicity, and "love of the limelight" will combine to produce a form of hysteria already increasing in the United States. Nerve seems to be more needed in politics than nerves, and Sylvia Pankhurst herself has declared that the minority demanding the suffrage "is striving for it knows not what."

OPINIONS OF EMINENT PERSONS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Daniel Webster: "The rough contests of the political world are not suited to the dignity and the delicacy of your sex. * * * It is by the promulgation of sound morals in the community, and more especially by the training and instruction of the young, that woman performs her part toward the preservation of a free government."

Rev. Horace Bushnell, D. D.: "Hitherto it has been an advantage to be going into battle in our suffrages with a full half * * * as a corps of reserve left behind, so that we may fall back on this quiet element * * * and settle again our mental and moral equilibrium. Now it is proposed that we have no reserve any longer; that we go into our conflicts taking our women with us, all to be kept heating in the same fire for weeks or months together. * * * Let no man imagine * * * that our women are going into these encounters to be just as quiet or as little moved as now, when they stay in the rear unexcited, letting us come back to them often and recover our reason. They are no more mitigators now, but instigators rather, sweltering in the same fierce heats and commotions, only more tempestuously stirred than we" (Woman's Suffrage; the Reform against Nature.)

Francis Parkman: "It has been claimed as a right that woman should vote. It is no right, but a wrong, that a small number of women should impose on all the rest political duties which there is no call for their assuming, which they do not want to assume, and which, if duly discharged, would be a cruel and intolerable burden."

Mrs. Clara T. Leonard, Massachusetts Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity: "The best work that a woman can do for the purifying of politics is by her influence over men, by the wise training of her children, by her intelligent, unselfish counsel to husband, brother, or friend, by a thorough knowledge and discussion of the needs of her community."

Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D. D.: "I am now asked to confer the responsibility of suffrage upon women. This means, of course, that they are willing to accept all the responsibilities of public-spirited men. To which request I reply that I do not think they want to do these things, and, second, that I do not think they would do them well."

Le Baron R. Briggs, president of Radcliffe College: "As to public life, I am still so conservative as to hold that a political competition of both sexes is less likely to elevate men than to degrade women, and that the peculiar strength of refined and earnest womanhood is exercised in ways less public. I fear the loss of the best that is in woman, and with it the loss of a power that is hers and hers alone."

Jacob A. Riis: "I do not think the ballot will add to woman's real power which she exercises or can exercise now."

Carl Schurz: "Is it not certain that so tremendous an addition to the voting force as the granting of unqualified woman suffrage would effect, would involve at least the possibility of a dangerous increase of those evils which the best thought of the country is at present painfully struggling to remedy?"

Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells: "In the present constitution of events, of facts, physiological, social, moral, and political, it is inexpedient for government to grant universal female suffrage."

Cardinal Gibbons: "If woman enters politics, she will be sure to carry away on her some of the mud and dirt of political contact."

Hon. Moses Hallett, United States district judge for Colorado: "Our State has tried the female suffrage plan a sufficiently long time to form a fair idea of its workings. I am not prejudiced in any way, but honestly do not see where the experiment has proved of benefit. * * * It has produced no special reforms, and it has had no particular purifying effect upon politics. There is a growing tendency on the part of most of the better and more intelligent of the female voters of Colorado to cease exercising the ballot. * * * If it were to be done over again, the people of Colorado would defeat woman suffrage by an overwhelming majority."

Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State: "There never was a greater mistake, there never was a falser fact stated than that the women of America need any protection further than the love borne to them by their fellow countrymen. Do not imperil the advantages which they have; do not attempt in this hasty, ill-considered shallow way to interfere with the relations which are founded upon the laws of nature herself."

Miss Ida M. Tarbell: "The assumption that the improvement of woman's position depends upon the vote is quite as unsound as the charge of her inferiority * * * Woman proves her equality by doing the things for which she is fitted and which the world needs from her. * * * It is the gravest weakness of this country at present to ignore certain fundamental things; that life is not saved by politics but by principles; and that principles are not taught by votes and legislation but by precept and by practice."

Abram S. Hewitt: "After carefully considering all the arguments advanced by the advocates of woman suffrage * * * I do not think, from the organic

difference between men and women, that it will ever be shown to be for the advantage of women that they should be forced to take part in political controversies. In fact, I think it would be a great misfortune to them as well as to the human race."

Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte: "The suffrage is not a mere privilege. It is a public burden, and when it is proposed to make your mothers and sisters and other ladies of whom, perhaps, you may sometimes think, share this burden, the question is properly not whether women should be allowed to vote, but whether they should be obliged to vote."

Prof. Edward D. Cope: "The first thing that strikes us in considering the woman suffrage movement is that it is a proposition to engage women once more in that 'struggle' from which civilization has enabled them in great measure to escape; and that its effect, if long continued and fairly tried, will be to check the development of woman as such, and to bring to bear on her influences of a kind different from those which have been hitherto active."

Miss Dorothea L. Dix: "Distinctly and emphatically, Miss Dix believed in woman's keeping herself aloof and apart from anything savoring of ordinary political action. * * * She must be the incarnation of a purely disinterested idea appealing to universal humanity, irrespective of party or sect." (Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix, by Francis Tiffany.)

Dr. S. Weir Mitchell: "The best of the higher evolution of mind will never be safely reached until the woman accepts the irrevocable decree which made her woman and not man. Something in between she can not be."

Richard H. Dana: "The truth is, the ballot for women is not needed * * * and if they were ever called upon to combine and work in antagonism to the men, which they must do if their vote is really needed, the evils of the conflict would strike at the very foundations of our social system."

Prof. William T. Sedgwick: "Why should the great majority of women, who, as everybody knows, are either indifferent or opposed to woman suffrage, be forced to accept it against their will when there is no sound evidence that any material good is likely to accrue either to themselves or to the State?"

Bishop John H. Vincent, founder of Chautauqua: "When about 30 years of age I accepted for a time the doctrine of woman suffrage, and publicly defended it. Years of wide and careful observation have convinced me that the demand for woman suffrage in America is without foundation in equity, and, if successful, must prove harmful to American society."

Miss Jeannette L. Gilder, founder of the Critic: "In politics I do not think that women have any place. Neither physically nor temperamentally are they strong enough for the fray. The life is too public, too wearing, and too unfitted to the nature of women. It is bad enough for men * * * and it would be worse for women. I believe not only that the ballot in the hands of women would be a calamity, but I believe that it would prove a boomerang."

John Boyle O'Reilly: "Woman suffrage would be the constitutional degradation of women; it would be an appeal to the coarser strength of men; and I profoundly believe that it would result in social disorder and disrespect of law."

Gail Hamilton (Miss Mary Abigail Dodge): "My earliest instinct and my latest judgment combine in maintaining that women have a right to claim exemption from political duty and responsibility, and that men have no right to lay the burden upon them. If the public work is ill done by men, the remedy is to do it better, not to shift the weight to shoulders already heavily laden, and whose task they do not propose in any respect to lighten."

Rev. James M. Buckley, D. D.: "Should the duty of governing in the State be imposed upon women, all the members of society will suffer. * * * The true woman needs no governing authority conferred upon her by law. In the present situation the highest evidence of respect that man can exhibit toward woman, and the noblest service he can perform for her, are to vote 'nay' to the proposition that would take from her the diadem of pearls, the talisman of faith, hope, and love, by which all other requests are won from men, and substitute for it the iron crown of authority."

Hon. Henry B. Brown, ex-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States: "It is a mistake to suppose that either men or women have a natural right to vote. We are bound to distinguish between natural and political rights. They may be said to have a natural right to protection in their persons, their property, and their opinions, but they have no natural right to govern or to participate in the government of others."

Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, D. D.: "There is full scope for woman's patience, power, purity, and prayers without attempting to override that divine arrangement which never fitted her to be a soldier, a sailor, a civil engineer, a juryman, a magistrate, a policeman, a politician."

Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State: "I am opposed to granting suffrage to women because I believe it would be a loss to women and an injury to the State, and to every man and woman in the State. * * * I think so because suffrage implies not merely the casting of a ballot, but entering upon the field of political life; and politics is modified war. In politics there is struggle, strife, contention, bitterness, heart-burning, excitement, agitation—everything which is adverse to the true character of woman. In my judgment, this whole movement arises from a false conception of the duty and the right of men and women. * * * It is a fatal mistake that these excellent women make when they conceive that the functions of men are superior to theirs and seek to usurp them."

Jennie June (Mrs. Jane C. Croly), "Mother of Clubs," founder of the New York Sorosis, and president of the New York Women's Press Club: "The best way for women to approach politics is to let them entirely alone. In all the 50 years that in one way or another I have worked, I have never identified myself with suffrage nor politics."

Rossiter Johnson: "The most civilized portions of mankind have not yet outgrown the measurement of force for the ultimate settlement of every great question, and the unit of force is the man capable of bearing arms. * * * The government set up, and the policy adopted, may not be the best possible; but, if a majority of the men stand behind them, we shall at least have stability, and that is the most necessary element in any government. * * * To make any party victorious at the polls by means of blank-cartridge ballots would only present an increased temptation to the numerical minority to assert itself as the military majority. * * * If an election is carried by a preponderance of votes cast by women, who is to enforce the verdict? When a few such verdicts have been overturned, we shall find ourselves in a state of anarchy."

The English remonstrance (Nineteenth Century, June, 1889): "To sum up: we would give the women their full share in the state of social effort and social mechanism; we look for their increasing activity in that higher state which rests on thought, conscience, and moral influence; but we protest against their admission to direct power in that state which does rest upon force—the state in its administrative, military, and financial aspects—where the physical capacity, the accumulated experience, and inherited training of men ought to prevail without the harassing interference of those who, though they may be partners of men in debate, can in these matters never be partners with them in action. * * * Nothing can be further from our minds than to seek to depreciate the position of importance of women. It is because we are keenly alive to the enormous value of their special contribution to the community that we oppose what seems to us likely to endanger that contribution. We are convinced that the pursuit of a mere outward equality with men is for women not only vain but demoralizing. It leads to a total misconception of woman's true dignity and special mission. It tends to personal struggle and rivalry, where the only effort of both the great divisions of the human family should be to contribute the characteric labor and the best gifts of each to the common stock."

Mrs. Humphry Ward.	Mrs. George J. Goschen.
Mrs. Leslie Stephen.	Mrs. Frederic Harrison.
Mrs. Thomas H. Huxley.	Mrs. Matthew Arnold.
Mrs. William E. Forster.	Mrs. Max Müller.
Lady Frederic Cavendish.	Mrs. J. Richard Green.
Hon. Emily Lawless.	Mrs. Walter Bagehot and others.

Victoria, Queen of England: "The Queen is most anxious to enlist every one who can speak or write to join in checking this mad, wicked folly of 'Woman's rights,' with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor, feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety."

John Bright: "When women are not safe under the charge or care of fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons, it is the fault of our noncivilization and not of our laws. As civilization founded on Christian principles advances, women will gain all that is right for them to have, though they are not seen contending in the strife of political parties. In my experience I have observed

evil results to many women who have entered heartily into political conflict and discussion. I would save them from it."

William E. Gladstone: "A permanent and vast difference has been impressed upon women and men respectively by the Maker of both. I for one am not prepared to say which of the two sexes has the higher and which has the lower province. * * * I am not without the fear, lest beginning with the state, we should eventually be found to have intruded into what is yet more fundamental and more sacred, the precinct of the family, and should dislocate, or seriously modify, the relations of domestic life."

Herbert Spencer. Herbert Spencer, in Justice, maintains that there are fundamental reasons for keeping the spheres of the sexes distinct. He had formerly argued the matter "from the point of view of a general principle of individual rights," but he finds that this can not be sustained, as he "discovers mental and emotional differences between the sexes which disqualify women for the burdens of government and the exercise of its functions."

Mrs. Humphry Ward: "Women should not vote on questions in the solution of which they can never play a responsible part. Fancy a female general, a female admiral! Fancy a railroad run by women, roads built or mines worked by them! If there is this inevitable physical limitation to a woman's activity * * * is it just that she be given a vote on matters that involve these activities? The national government * * * is concerned in all of these things, and is maintained by the votes of the male portion of the population, which thus indirectly decides on the army, the navy, the railroads, and the scores of material interests in which women can not by nature take an active part."

Goldwin Smith: "Political power has hitherto been exercised by the male sex; not because man has been a tyrannical usurper and has brutally thrust his weaker partner out of her rights, but in the course of nature because man alone could uphold government and enforce the law. Let the edifice of law be as moral and as intellectual as you will, its foundation is the force of the community, and the force of the community is male."

Quarterly Review, Women at Oxford and Cambridge, October, 1897: "Either sex is an appalling blunder, or else it must have been intended that each sex should have its own work to do, not merely in the physical economy of the race, but also in the social and intellectual world. * * * Woman, alike in body, mind, and character, 'is not lesser man, but other.' At the moment, many able women think that it is possible to follow masculine ideas in education, in habit, in practical life, and yet to be true to their own nature. In the long run this is impossible."

Other notable persons who have remonstrated against woman suffrage are President Grover Cleveland; Mrs. Margaret Deland; President Arthur T. Hadley, of Yale University; Miss Ida M. Tarbell; Bishop David H. Greer, of New York; Miss Caroline Hazard, president of Wellesley College; Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott; Miss Agnes Irwin, dean of Radcliffe College; Charles Dudley Warner; Mrs. Mary E. Wilkins Freeman; Felix Adler; Madame Louise Homer; President William De Witt Hyde, of Bowdoin College; Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin; Bishop William C. Doane; Mrs. Clara Louise Kellogg Strakosch; Hon. Charles C. Nott, Chief Justice United States Court of Claims; Mrs. John Ware; Andrew S. Draper, New York State commissioner of education; Miss Carolyn Wells; Rev. Dr. Theodore T. Munger; Miss Mabel T. Boardman; Edward W. Bok; Mrs. Andrew Carnegie; Richard Watson Gilder; Mrs. Celia Thaxter; President Henry P. Judson, of the University of Chicago; Marion Harland (Mrs. Virginia Terhune); Gov. Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey; Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer; Bishop Arthur C. A. Hall, of Vermont; Mrs. Grover Cleveland; Hon. Edgar Aldrich, United States District Judge for New Hampshire; Mrs. Mary Anderson de Navarro; Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden; Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis; Winston Churchill (now a suffragist); Mrs. Josephine Daskam Bacon; Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst; Miss Adeline Knapp; Prof. William K. Brooks, of Johns Hopkins University; Mrs. Helen Watterson Moody; Octave Thanet (Miss Alice French); Mrs. Adeline D. T. Whitney; James Bryce; William E. H. Lecky; Miss Octavia Hill; Frederic Harrison; John Ruskin; Sir E. Ray Lankester; Gilbert K. Chesterton; Rudyard Kipling; and Lord Cromer, "maker of modern Egypt."

Other prominent Massachusetts men who have expressed their opposition to woman suffrage are Govs. Eben S. Draper; Curtis Guild, jr.; W. Murray Crane (now United States Senator); Roger Wolcott; William E. Russell; George D. Robinson and William Gaston; United States Senator Henry Cabot

Lodge; President A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard University; President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University; President Franklin Carter, of Williams College; President Mark Hopkins, of Williams College; President George Harris, of Amherst College; President Frederick W. Hamilton, of Tufts College; President Henry Lefavour, of Simmons College; President L. Clark Seelye, of Smith College; President Albert P. Fitch, of Andover Theological Seminary; Principal Alfred E. Stearns, of Phillips Exeter Academy; Bishop William Lawrence; Cardinal O'Connell; George G. Crocker; Congressman William C. Lovering; Prof. Charles Eliot Norton; Maj. Henry L. Higginson; John Fiske; James Ford Rhodes; Charles F. Donnelly; Judge Francis C. Lowell; Charles Warren; Prof. Charles J. Bullock; Morgan Rotch; William D. Sohier; Rodney Wallace; Rev. Joshua P. Bodfish; Samuel J. Elder; Dr. Edward M. Hartwell; Arthur Lord; Charles T. Gallagher; Albert C. Houghton; William B. Plunkett; James M. Prendergast; John N. Cole; Henry L. Pierce; William F. Wharton; Solomon Lincoln; Henry M. Whitney; Rev. John O'Brien; Henry H. Sprague; T. Jefferson Coolidge; Thomas Russell; Prof. William B. Munro; Charles Francis Adams; Prof. Francis J. Child; Elisha Morgan; Jeremiah W. Coveney; Dr. J. Collins Warren; John R. Thayer; W. Lyman Underwood; Dr. Henry P. Walcott; Frederick P. Fish; Melvin O. Adams; James P. Munroe; Robert Winsor; Edwin F. Atkins; Theodore Lyman; John F. Fitzgerald; Dr. William L. Richardson; Walter Clifford; Timothy G. Spaulding; Robert Luce; John T. Burnett; Laurence Minot; John A. Sullivan; Moses Williams; Thomas L. Livermore; Robert M. Morse; Levi J. Gunn; Dr. Walter Channing; Francis H. Appleton; Thornton K. Lothrop; Judge William C. Loring; Charles F. Choate; Arthur H. Lowe; Prof. F. Spencer Baldwin; Dr. William J. Councilman; Frank Foxcroft; Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham; Prentiss Cummings; Prof. William W. Goodwin; Congressman Robert O. Harris; Prof. Paul H. Hanus; William A. Gaston; District Attorney Richard W. Irwin; Dr. Dudley A. Sargent; Frederic J. Stimson, and many others.

(Printed by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. Pamphlets and leaflets may be obtained from the secretary, room 615, Kensington Building, 687 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. January, 1912.)

[Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.]

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO.

I have voted since 1893. I have been a delegate to the city and State conventions, and a member of the Republican State committee from my county. I have been a deputy sheriff and a watcher at the pools. For 23 years I have been in the midst of the woman suffrage movement in Colorado. For years I believed in woman suffrage and have worked day in and day out for it. I now see my mistake and would abolish it to-morrow if I could.

No law has been put on the statute books of Colorado for the benefit of women and children that has been put there by the women. The child-labor law went through independently of the women's vote. The hours of the working women have not been shortened; the wages of school-teachers have not been raised; the type of men that got into office has not improved a bit.

Frankly, the experiment is a failure. It has done Colorado no good. It has done woman no good. The best thing for both would be if to-morrow the ballot for women could be abolished.

MRS. FRANCIS W. GODDARD,
President of the Colonial Dames of Colorado.

DECEMBER, 1910.

Our State has tried the female suffrage plan a sufficiently long time to form a fair idea of its workings. I am not prejudiced in any way, but honestly do not see where the experiment has proved of benefit. * * * It has produced no special reforms, and it has had no particular purifying effect upon politics. There is a growing tendency on the part of most of the better and more intelligent of the female voters of Colorado to cease exercising the ballot. * * * If it were to be done over again, the people of Colorado would defeat woman suffrage by an overwhelming majority.

HON. MOSES HALLETT,
United States District Judge for Colorado.

[Morning Telegraph, Sunday, Mar. 3, 1912.]

WHY WOMEN SHOULD NOT VOTE.

THEY WILL PAY THE PRICE OF THEIR EMANCIPATION BY THE TAX ON THEIR MORAL STRENGTH—THE MAJORITY COULD NOT STAND THE STRAIN.

[By Mrs. Gilbert Jones.]

Mrs. Gilbert E. Jones is a woman of pluck and aggressive in her methods for the defeat of woman suffrage. She showed this when, in 1894, she gave up her social aspirations in her home in Madison Avenue, New York City, and went to Albany as one of the set that opposed the proposed constitutional amendment that provided for the enfranchisement of her sex.

From that time on she devoted her time and means to carrying out the ideas of the federation of which she is now the head of the executive committee. Her personal following, to a considerabel extent, stood by her. Many of her associates in the antisuffrage movement are notable in public and social life. One of these is Mrs. Grover Cleveland.

Mrs. Jones in her easy chair, in her library, or as seen in the street or any place where people congregate, would never be picked out as a woman leader in a woman movement in which the whole country is interested. Her physique and dress mark her as a woman whose chief aim is quietude and retirement. She is of the petite class, with pleasant lines in her face and of engaging manner.

When she is asked to explain her reasons for her present work she does not hesitate to express herself. She believes in it. She declares she has no object other than the uplift of her sex and that education which enables a woman to have influence in public matters without becoming entangled in the squabble of politics.

(Mrs. Jones is the chairman of the executive committee of the National League for the Civic Education of Women.)

The demand for woman suffrage is based, first, on woman's natural right to it; second, that it is necessary for the purification of politics and the uplifting of society; third, that woman needs it for her own protection against unjust laws.

First. The woman's "natural" right "to vote": Chief Justice Waite, of the United States Supreme Court, decided that citizenship carried with it no voting power or right. The same decision has been handed down by many courts in disposing of test cases. A resident of the District of Columbia has all the privileges of citizenship, but he can not vote, as that is a State "right," and the District of Columbia is not a State. Citizenship does not entitle a man or woman to vote, so the injustice to woman can not be maintained.

Second. "Women should vote and that it is necessary for the purification of politics and the uplifting of society." In answer to this read Ben Lindsey's article, "The beast in the jungle," and then the politics of Colorado is explained. There women vote and take bribes for their votes, just as men do. The woman political boss is not an object of feminine charm, and politics in Colorado are in no way improved because women vote. And what do we find in Utah, a woman suffrage State? A dynasty ruled by one American citizen, Joseph F. Smith, the Mormon prophet, who claims that he has been divinely ordained to exercise the authority of God over all affairs of his people, not only in his own State, but of those States that surround him; and he is as secure as any tsar and rules like the Sultan of Turkey with his harem. Has woman political, social or economic independence in Utah? Has polygamy been stopped by the woman's instinctive selfrespect or practical and just demands with her powers through the ballot? No. And the Mormon Church is spreading its power more and more deliberately in the other woman suffrage States. Can this mean social uplifting?

Massachusetts and New York were many years granting the equal guardianship of the husband and wife over their own children. Wyoming, Idaho, and Utah grant women no such privileges, and women have voted forty-three years in two of these States. Neither need the husband support the wife, if he does not care to in these three women suffrage States. In Idaho a wife has no control over her own wages or money of any kind, and she can secure control of her own property only by going into court and showing that her husband is mismanaging it. This is always a difficult matter, and shows how little inde-

pendence women have in Idaho. Much more could be said of these three States, but space compels me to push on to other questions.

Third. "That woman needs it for her own protection against unjust laws." Women can not sustain laws if they make them, neither can they enforce them when once made. The "rights of women" have been generally granted and the married woman's laws are better in New York State and Massachusetts than in any other part of the world, and all without the vote, proving that the ballot is not necessary to bring about these favorable conditions.

Every effort is now being made to guard the woman and the child. It is part of the great evolution of the century, but none of it is being seriously done in connection with "votes for women." It is the result of economic investigation, the anxiety of safeguarding the future generations. The study of the conditions of man, woman, and child is foremost in the mind of all psychologists, sociologists, and scientists. The everyday up-to-date business men know that "their conditions can no longer be overlooked. The humanitarian makes the needs of humanity known to the rich and demands relief. The awakening of our great middle class for knowledge and facts concerning their opportunities and advantages has stirred the civic conscience of the masses, but this and all the vast insight to the activities of the day can not be brought down to the small horizon of the woman-suffrage movement. It is progress—an onward march, and if women had the vote they would find that they must still quicken their step if they keep pace with man—the greatest of God's achievements. Woman does not need more laws for her own protection, but she does need more knowledge concerning herself, more study of her own child, more instruction in mothercraft and homemaking. These glorious privileges are slipping away from her and her economic value is lessening daily as machinery (of man's ingenuity) and man's wealth, labor, and generosity supply her with all the necessities of life.

Books are appearing everywhere about the "woman parasite." "The increase of the death rate of little children," "the decrease of the birth rate of our younger generations," etc., and what does it all mean? Unrest, extravagance, luxury, discontent, imitation, and competition of our middle class, and rank socialism for the lower classes, and in all this whirl of commotion women are still the enigma, and the young woman of to-day is a very serious problem. Motherhood is in need of reform and protection, but the vote will not bring it. Mothers are the creators and builders of character in its youth, and it is necessary that conscious personal relations should be reestablished and understood between the mother and her child.

Scientists are working out these problems of the mother and child, but the mothers themselves are not. The woman suffrage movement and bridge whist are diverting thousands of our young women away from their mother interests and the home, which should be the center of calmness and peace, and from which the greatest as well as the minutest things of life should emanate. Men may grant women the ballot, but men will again bring her back to her own. The natural function of the woman will always remain, if she is true to herself, namely the purifying, spiritualizing, humanizing of society, by influencing the husband, the father, son, or brother in daily contact and an unspoken language, and it is in itself the highest of all human functions; it is nobler than anything which politics and votes can produce.

Politics is not uplifting, and even in the four woman-suffrage States politics is still dismally corrupt, and many women themselves deplore their enfranchisement in Colorado.

The State has fundamental reasons why women should not vote, but women rarely take that viewpoint, but resort to emotional arguments in favor of their particular interests.

Sex is the first reason. Legislation for women as women can be traced from the multimillionaire's wife down to the sweatshop, and social, political, professional, and industrial conditions readjust her to the plane of least resistance for the reason that she is a woman.

Sex is the second reason. Women should not be classed with "idiots, paupers, criminals, and the insane," as is often quoted. Women are not a class, but they must be "exempt" citizens if they are enfranchised, just as peers are in England and clergymen in Switzerland, because they are not made liable for the protection of life and property. Women are not at the "command" of Government—men are. Men and women can offer and volunteer their services alike, but no command can be given to the women voter by any governmental authority. Men must, in the last analysis, by our theory and prac-

tice of Government create our national force. Women never will. By our practice of drafting the male voter must protect the Nation.

Some men are exempt at the time of need. All women voters would be exempt, and would be a total loss as a national force. At their best they can and have volunteered their services, but Government can never command them as it has and must command men. Women bear sons that create the national force, but not at the command of Government, neither can women guarantee sons if they want to. And what about the barren woman, and those who only have girls, and there is the spinster. All that they contribute to life is volunteered, and can not come under the practical business of Government.

Government sustains and protects all moral and ethical services given by men and women. The church and the State have long since ceased to work hand in hand together, except in Utah.

Man is liable for the protection of life and property, for the maintenance of the home, for the support of wife and children, for the education of the children, for the payments of debts for all necessities of life in the family. Man is the defender of the Nation. Our warships are maneuvered by men. Our great commercial and industrial activities are sustained and guaranteed by men. Ninety-eight per cent of all our marvelous inventions are made by men. The high standard of statesmanship and professional life is upheld by men. Men have done more than their share of the work of the world, and have brought us up to the high-water mark of modern civilization, and yet women demand that they should make the laws to regulate the results of this gigantic human achievement. The conceit of them! To give birth to a thousand children is not to be compared to the man who gave birth to the invention of the printing press; so we can not in any way give either a true measure to their service to humanity. How many "votes for women" will we need to create such a marvelous influence upon the politics of the nation, as did Harriet Beecher Stowe's book, Uncle Tom's Cabin?

Sex is the third reason. As woman is forced out of her home and away from motherhood into extreme social, industrial, and political life, just so must she pay the price of her emancipation by the tax on her physical and moral strength. This may be at bridge, whist, settlement work, in factory work, or in the sweatshop. Some women are equal to this strain, but the majority are not, and we should look for fewer women wage earners, politicians, and office seekers. Discourage women blacksmiths, baggage masters, and women brakemen, and women undertakers. Yet suffragists believe woman's emancipation must be brought about along some of these lines.

There is no class of women to whom the leaders of the equal-suffrage movement have held out more attractive promises than those who are engaged in wage-earning pursuits. It is undeniable that in many such occupations women receive a lower rate of pay than men, and lower than they ought. Believing that they are doing an equal amount of work with the men who are laboring side by side with them, it is natural that such women should feel that they are entitled to an equal rate of pay.

With this feeling I am in entire sympathy. I fail to see, however, any way by which the suffragist leaders could redeem the promises of higher wages to women who are earning their own living, even if their demand for the ballot were to be granted.

It is easy enough to say that men receive higher wages than women in certain occupations because they have votes, but it is a more difficult matter to prove the assertion, and in the States where women vote they often receive 10 per cent less than the men.

About 6,000,000 working women are competing with men to-day. Large numbers of them are under the age of 21, consequently not of the voting age.

When one comes to examine the occupations in which these workers are to be found it appears that the largest single group, about one-fourth of the whole number are domestic servants; so that if increased wages for women workers followed the granting of votes to women, as suffragist advocates claim would be the case, the first to obtain increased pay in all probability would be household workers. These, however, are just the ones whose wages are now admittedly high in comparison with those of other women workers.

The next group of wage earners is the agricultural workers, largely on the southern plantations, generally negresses, who can neither read or write.

After these two classes of women workers come dressmakers, public laundresses, teachers, and farmers, in the order named.

In none of these occupations, however, aside from those of domestic servants and agricultural laborers, are their numbers sufficiently large to make their votes of any great effect either in national or State elections in carrying through a demand for increased wages.

Moreover, it may be pointed out that the interest of the very largest class of women voters—the wives of wage earners—would lie in securing higher wages for their husbands rather than for other women workers, and these two interests might easily become antagonistic.

In the four States where women vote there is no evidence to show that the ballot has had any effect whatever upon their rate of pay. The wages of household servants are high in Colorado, but this is because they are extremely scarce and not because they are voters. In the case of teachers and other professional workers there has been no apparent effect upon the rate of pay as a result of the adoption of equal suffrage. Indeed, the women teachers in Colorado are paid 10 per cent less than men. This question of the pay of women workers really should have no place in a discussion of the merits of the demand for equal suffrage. It is worth noticing merely because it has been employed so persistently—and apparently with some effect—to win the support of women wage earners for the suffragist movement, and the Socialist can not separate the two for a moment.

My feeling in regard to this question has come as a result of the experience of many years in work which has brought me into close touch with woman wage earners. While the attempt has been made to enlist the support of these women for the cause of equal suffrage, the great majority of wage-earning women are not actively interested in that cause, and its support is confined chiefly to professional agitators.

As one who believes thoroughly in the principle of cooperation embodied in pure trade unionism among women, I deplore the effort by suffragists to manipulate the strength of this movement for themselves and for socialism.

One-fourth of the wage-earning women who demand the ballot are rank Socialists, and any mention of motherhood, government, church, and marriage are scoffed and hissed at—and they promise destruction to our true American ideals of womanhood.

The arguments of those who press the measure to enfranchise women are directed toward the benefit that the vote will prove to women, particularly those who own property.

The objection that women are unjustly taxed without being represented will not bear even slight scrutiny. The phrase "taxation without representation" can not be made an individual right to be claimed by each inhabitant who bears the burden of taxation.

The question of taxation was settled without reference to woman suffrage. Women voted in several of our colonies before the Revolution, and it was not until some time after the Federal Constitution was adopted that the question of suffrage was settled.

To let a woman vote because she owns property would indeed be tyrannical, as it would discriminate against the woman who does not own property, and this unjust condition would be undemocratic and un-American to the last degree, and then the woman suffragist is not asking for a "qualified suffrage." She demands the whole thing, "universal suffrage."

WELLS BINDERY
MAR 1984
WALTHAM, MA 02154